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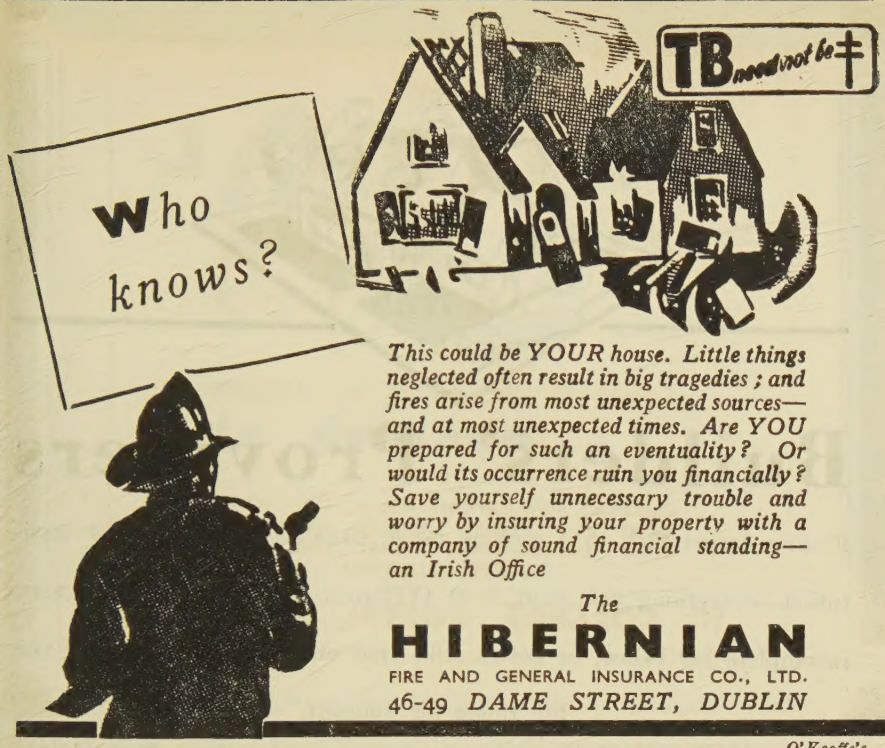

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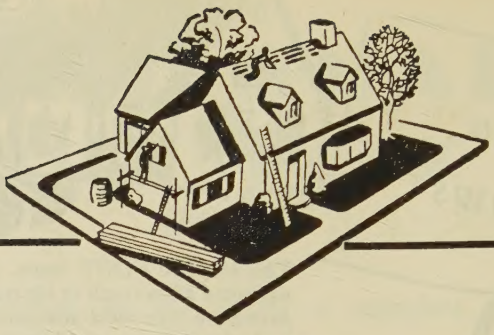

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ISIS IN IRELAND'S BALANCE OF TRADE

BY MICHAEL J. MacCORMAC, M.A.

HE repatriation of our sterling assets is in full swing. The trade returns for the half year to June 1951 show an excess of imports exports of £73.6 million and according to the estimate made by Minister for Finance[1] in the Dail on the 18 July 1951 we face a deficit e Balance of Payments of approximately £60 million for year 1951. net external assets in 1949 amounted to £225 million allowing for n holding in Ireland of non-nationals[2]. Due to the 1950 deficit less E.C.A. Counterpart loan (£30m—£20.8m = £9.2m) this figure has umably been reduced to £216m.; at the current rate it will stand at m at the end of the present year, allowing for the cessation of American Once this £165m is disinvested, the sterling area's indebtedness to this try will be nil. This will take a relatively short time at the current

If this net foreign disinvestment took the form of creation within country of productive capital assets, its merits would still be dubious ; as a perusal of the trade statistics for the last two and a half years s the repatriation is of a rather different character.

The ex-Minister for Finance in his Budget Speech[3] stated :

> Deficits in the balance of payments cannot, however, be sustained for more than a short period ; they involve an initial loss of purchasing power over imports owing to the depletion of external capital and the income derived from it. Unless we are building up our productive capacity to an adequate degree, so that by increasing our exports or reducing our imports we can within a few years equalise our external receipts and payments, we must inevitably suffer a decline in our living standards. Our external credits are far from being inexhaustible ; they can be used up now only at the expense of the future unless they are used for productive purposes.

Economic theory applied to the problem of balances of external assets h have been built up over a period of years favours the policy of liquid- g these assets at the commencement of a period of rising prices and easing monetary values : otherwise in such a period, the economy of creditor nation becomes monetized and in exchange for previous rts the volume of imports is diminishing. In a country such as Ireland re a deficit on balance of payments seems to be of a continuing nature, theory must be further qualified by adding that the disinvestment take the form of imports of goods of a productive nature h will in time reduce to a level of equilibrium the net domestic nditure on imports.

Applying this theory of the repatriation of the external assets in the of productive goods to the Irish situation, it is found that the effect creased internal production, although bringing about a reduction in

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1 Dail Debates 18/7/1951, Vol. 126 column 1896.
2 Ibid. column 1898.
3 Dail Debates 2/5/1951, Vol. 125, column 1880.

imports, will not give rise to so substantial a decrease in imports or increase in exports as to negative the balance of trade deficit. In t first place, if the deficit is to be reduced by an increase in exports, must be pointed out that the import content of the increase in expo is in many cases quite substantial. For example, in 1950, the exports confectionery, chocolate crumb, jam and preserved fruit taken togeth rose by some £4.2m and the increase in ingredients imported (taki currants, raisins, raw cocoa and sugar) amounted to £3.6m so that t net increase in exports on this account was only of the order of £0.6m Furthermore, this applied particularly to many of the agricultural expo of this country which have a high import content, especially in the situati where the terms of trade are moving against the country. In the seco place, the sources of raw materials within this country are extreme limited and consequently the home production which will displace t imports of finished goods will necessitate a raw material import. Th extent of the reduction in imports will be the net output of the new Ir industry. This reduction must be qualified by a cost comparison of t imports of finished goods taking into account the full effect of tariff barrie and quotas. Furthermore, the higher national income resulting from a increase in productive activity will be spent on the import in larger quantiti and/or in higher qualities of those products which are not produced by th new national industry, or on import of raw materials higher than former necessary to meet the home demand before the rise in the national incom Even if there is a high tariff placed against the increased import of co sumer goods, the force of the increased demand will show in a relative large increase in the import of raw materials for the new home industri which will have a cumulatively greater effect due to the progressive increa in employment, output and incomes.

From an analysis[1] of the effects of the establishment of certain industri in the period of industrialization during the 1930's it can be seen th the net annual saving of imports over the total range of industries examine (accounting for the major section of new home industries) was of th order of £3.5m. The largest savings are recorded as follows:

Sugar	£650,000
Cement	£400,000
Tanning and Boots and Shoes	£1,000,000
Clothing and Textiles	£450,000
Small industries	£1,000,000
	£3,500,000

[1] Result of private research of the writer into the effect of the public companies form for manufacturing purposes in the 1932-39 period on the import/export statistics.

Hence however estimable the establishment of productive units within country may be from the point of view of increased national income, s evident from these figures that the net reduction in imports caused such development is by no means large.

The repatriation of our sterling assets in the form of an increase in ports of producer goods may only give rise to a relatively small reduction the volume of imports, taking into account the necessity of raw material rchases abroad, the multiplier effect within the country, and the time . The investment in agriculture by increased imports of such com- dities as agricultural machinery, fertilisers, drainage equipment, etc. l no doubt have a greater effect on the balance of trade through increased ports but in this case the time lag may be even longer and the resultant ect may be dependent on uncontrollable factors such as prices, demand d competitive supply.

In the prevailing circumstances of rising prices and decreasing pur- asing power of the pound, the repatriation of part of our external assets the form of productive goods is probably the best policy to pursue, vided the foreign disinvestment is offset by an increase in productive pacity which will ultimately have some effect on the trade balance. he Irish economy, however, is so geared that a large amount of imports essential, both for raw materials, replacement of capital equipment d direct consumption and that an increase in exports will contain an port content. Some portion, therefore, of external balances must be ained to cover the essential deficits and to give the country that "ability ride out periods like the present of exceptional difficulty and stress, t this external mass of manoeuvre is the mainstay of our economic lependence."[1]

II.

The question now arises whether the gap in the balance of trade which s been realized in the last year and a half has been caused by the import capital goods or by other reasons. A close examination of the statistics eals that the main causes of the trade deficit have been

(1) a price increase of great magnitude,
(2) an alarming drop in export quantities,
(3) an unfavourable change in the terms of trade,
(4) and heavier quantities of many import categories.

r the purpose of a detailed discussion of the current balance of payments blem it is essential to discover the relative importance of the fore- ng factors, and to attempt to estimate the impact of each factor on realized deficit.

[1] Dail Debates, 2/5/1951, Vol. 125, column 1884.

	1949	1950	Increase	Jan/June 1950	Jan/June 1951	Increase
	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m	£m
Imports	130·2	159·6	29·4	77·4	106·4	29·0
Exports	59·0	70·5	11·5	29·3	32·0	2·7
Re-Exports	1·6	1·9	0·3	1·0	0·8	0·2
Excess of Imports over Exports	69·6	87·2	17·6	47·1	73·6	26·5

The above table[1] shows in relief the serious problem which has emerge during the first half of the current year and while the major impact c buying against price rises may be reflected in the excess of £73.6m. ther is a strong presumption that many orders placed in the early period c 1951 will emerge as imports in the second half of the year. Th monthly import total is also increasing at a steady rate since Februar so that it is unlikely that any sudden substantial reduction will tak place.

It is noteworthy that the increase in imports is £29.4m comparin 1949 with 1950, and £29m. comparing the first half of 1951 with the sam period in 1950. An analysis of the constituents of these increases show that in the 1949/50 comparison 62·9% of the £29·4m. increase in import was due to increased quantity whereas 37·1% was due to increased prices. For the comparison Jan.–June 1950/51, only 46·5% of the £29m wa due to increased quantity whereas 53·5% was due to increase prices.

	1949/1950		Jan.–June 1950/51	
	Value £m	%	Value £m	%
Quantity Increase	18·5	62·9	13·4	46·5
Price Increase	10·9	37·1	15·6	53·5
Total Import Increase	29·4	100·0	29·0	100·0

The above table shows that in the recent half year the effect of in creased prices on the import figures is more substantial than the effe

[1] In preparing this and subsequent tables I was greatly facilitated by the courte of the Central Statistics Office in making available before publication the June figure

[2] These figures were arrived at by sampling the statistics of import increases and b calculating the unit price for each commodity sampled, discovering the percentage the increased value imported due to increases in volume and in price, and ascertainin the weighted arithmetic average. Of the total increase in imports in each period, t sample taken covered 64% in 1949/50, and 45% of the total for Jan./June 1950/5 The lower percentage sample in the second case is due to the fact that the increases value are spread over a wider variety of commodities.

n increase in quantities. This is a reversal of the 1950 trend which wed that the increase in volume of imports was the predominating or in the import increase. Ireland is, therefore, feeling the impact rice increases to a greater extent in the first half of 1951. The following e will illustrate the main commodities where the increase in price cted to a large extent on the import increase :

	Value Increase		Portion of Value Increase attributable to price		Percentage of Value Increase attributable to Price Increase	
	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51
	£m		£m			
eals and Feeding uffs	5·7	1·8[a]	2·0	1·7	35·0	92·7
manufactured obacco	1·0	1·0	1·0	0·1	100	100
l-All kinds	1·0	1·8	0·16	1·2	20·7	66
chinery & Elec- ical goods	2·2	1·7	1·1	0·7	50[b](E)	41[b](E)
Cocoa	—	1·0	—	0·3	—	35
deals, Planks nd Boards	1·1	0·1	0·22	0·1	19·7	100
ton Yarn	0·56	0·2	0·23	0·19	40	94·5
tor and Aviation pirit[c]	2·0	0·3	1·8	0·2	87·9	59·5
ollen & Worsted arns	0·45	0·6	0·24	0·52	53·0	86·6
ficial Silk Fabrics	0·43	0·5	0·10	0·20	22·0	39
Rubber	0·45	0·6	0·36	0·42	80·5	70·4
er-Making Iaterials	0·43	0·2	0·15	0·20	34·2	100
er & Stationery	0·6	0·45	0·17	0·45	28·3	100
ar	1·4	0·64	0·3	0·16	22·8	25·7
ilisers	—	1·0	—	0·3	—	34·6
....	1·0	1·8	0·18	0·2	18·4	13
			8·01	6·94		

[a]—Wheat being the main constituent of the increase in Jan.–June comparison
[b]—An estimate as the quantity-price split is unobtainable.
[c]—Approximately 15% of the Total imports of Motor and Aviation Spirit is re-exported.

Of the total increase in value due to price increases £8m of the total ·9m in 1949/50 is accounted for as shown ; £7.1m of the total of ·6m in the period Jan.–June 1950/51 is also shown. To explain the nce of £8·8 unaccounted for in the table for 1950/51 an analysis of ctically the full range of imports would be needed because the price

increases were scattered over a large variety of commodities. This arises from the fact that the prices of raw materials are more mobile than those of manufactured goods. The price rise of raw materials takes some time to effect changes in manufactured goods. In 1950 we felt only the changes in raw materials but by 1951 the price rise had spread to all our imports. It is of great interest to note in the above table that the principal commodities where the prices have a profound influence on the balance of payments are essential imports such as cereals and feeding stuffs, coal, rubber and textiles. The recent fall in prices of raw materials in world markets may affect favourably the Irish terms of trade, but the extent of the influence will not override the essential disequilibrium.

	Value Increase		Portion of Value Increase attributable to Quantity		Percentage of Value Increase attributable to Quantity	
	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51	1949/50	Jan.–June 1950/51
	£m		£m			
Cereals & Feeding Stuffs	5·7	—	3·7	—	65	—
Raw Cocoa	·38	1·0	0·3	0·7	77	65
Butter	—	1·7	—	1·7	—	100
Tea	1·0	1·8	0·87	1·6	81·6	87
Sugar	1·4	0·6	1·1	0·4	77·2	74
Coal (All kinds)	1·0	1·8	0·84	0·6	79·3	34
Cement, Hydraulic	0·5	—	0·4	—	93	—
Cast Iron Pipes	0·15	—	0·15	—	100	—
Agricultural Tractors (Complete)	0·2	0·3	0·2	0·2	94·5	79
Soft Deals, Planks & Boards	1·1	—	0·88	—	80·3	—
Cotton Yarn	0·56	—	0·33	—	60·0	—
Woollen & Worsted Yarn	0·45	—	0·21	—	47	—
Artificial Silk Fabrics	0·43	0·5	0·33	0·3	78	61
Raw Rubber	—	0·6	—	0·2	—	31
Paper-Making Materials	0·43	—	0·28	—	65·8	—
Paper & Stationery	0·6	—	0·43	—	71·7	—
Motor & Aviation Spirit	—	0·3	—	0·1	—	40
Gas, Fuel & Petroleum Oils	0·56	1·1	0·31	1·0	56	91·5
Machinery & Electrical goods	2·2	1·7	1·1	1·0	50(E)	59(E)
Fertilisers	—	1·0	—	0·7	—	65·4
Seeds for Sowing	—	0·2	—	0·2	—	100
			11·43	8·7		

Analysing the amount of value increase due to quantity in the major modities affected, it is clearly seen that the main quantity increases ne 1949/50 comparison were in cereals and feeding stuffs, tea, sugar, wood and machinery, whereas in the half year 1950/51 comparison main quantity increases were raw cocoa[1], butter, tea, gas fuel and oleum oils, machinery, and fertilisers. Furthermore, the increases d are the main import quantity increases, the coverage in the ve table for 1949/50 being 61% of the estimated quantity increase in the second period 66%. The other quantity increases are attributable mall rises in a wide variety of commodities.

III.

In a modern book on the Balance of Payments problems, Professor . Meade[2] draws some useful distinctions which throw some light on ort increases and their cause. He separates " spontaneous ", " policy " " induced " changes in relative economic conditions and examines r effects on the balance of trade. A " spontaneous increase " in domestic enditure, for example, occurs either where private enterprise changes profit perspective and decides to spend a greater sum on new capital allations, or in the case where less saving and more expenditure on sumption goods take place, both causing more imports. These ontaneous disturbances " are out of direct control but their effects d to be gauged when they occur in order to estimate the probable nomic movement. A " policy change " would then occur if the govern- t decided to decrease public expenditure to offset the spontaneous ease in imports, and a further induced change would occur if as a lt of the spontaneous increase in domestic expenditure the increased and for home production brought about a rise in national income a further increase in expenditure.

Applying this economic analysis to Ireland, an increase in import ntity has taken place ; the cause of the spontaneous increase in domestic enditure may be *inter alia* the result of less saving, or the substantial ease in bank loans and advances, or the induced effect of national me increases. In this country, however, the policy change has been ne same direction, and the government by increased public expenditure a policy of encouraging capital outlay on producer goods and stock- ng has aggravated the trend.

An examination of the tables reproduced brings out some deep-seated nomena. The increase in imports does not represent any extensive stment within the country to balance the disinvestment without. The ntity increases should chiefly appear in productive goods but in fact

[1] As explained above, for processing and export.
[2] J. E. Meade, *The Balance of Payments*. Oxford University Press, 1951. p. 43 et seq.

they are found to be in consumer goods, either for immediate use, su as butter, or for the purpose of stockpiling against further price increas or possible scarcity. Admittedly making a global estimate from the late returns, it could be said that of the increase attributed to quantity son £3·5m only can be attributed to investment in producer goods.

If, as has been suggested both in the Dail and in public discussio many of the import increases are due to stockpiling and are not for curre consumption, then the further question arises whether there is in fa stockpiling in the capital sense or whether it is the result of a gener increasing level of demand. Stocks normally bear a constant relationsh to turnover and the demands of an importer will be the result of t demand by the retailer. The retailer in the normal case will neither ha the finance nor storage equipment and space, nor will he be willing lock up his working capital in overstocking.[1] If, however, an increa in domestic expenditure, which depends on the rate at which the nation income is increasing, gives rise to a larger physical stock-turnover, the the shopkeeper will hold larger current stocks. His demand for stoc will depend not only on the absolute level of his turnover but on the ra of increase in turnover. If, therefore, the national income is rising i the sense of increased purchasing power, then the acceleration princip will act not only on the level of stocks but also upon the permanent lev of quantity import. An ancillary reason for the rise in stock levels whic cannot be considered as stockpiling is the fact that tourist expenditu within the country is relatively heavy and therefore this may necessita an increase in the turnover and the rate and level of stock replacemen Obviously, some portion of the quantity increases will be pure stockpilin by the importer/wholesaler, but in such a case, although there is an elemen of capital investment, the possibility of future price decreases must b taken into account. If a reduction in price takes place, there will be capital loss recorded against the holder of these stocks, and the effe will go further showing an unnecessary trade deficit during the perio of high prices when the stocks were purchased. Because of a necessar increase of stocks to cope with increased turnover, there is some portio of our stockpiling which cannot strictly be counted as new investmen Even on true stockpiling should a price decrease follow the stockpilin period, there is an active capital loss in the balance of trade.

IV.

When the export figures for the first half of 1951 are considered i conjunction with the increasing import quantities and prices, the tren

[1] In some cases in Ireland, many retailers have, in fact, gone over the security lev through purchasing in advance of need to get the advantage of the price increase prof This stockpiling effect, however, has been counteracted by the fact that stocks of oth lines have had to be drastically reduced.

the balance of trade becomes even clearer. First, comparing 1949 th 1950 it is found that exports increased by some £11·5m and that this increase the following items were the principal constituents :

	Value increase £m	% attributable to quantity increase
Turkeys	1·1	29·5
Beef tinned	0·4	63·0
Butter	0·9	60·2
Chocolate crumb	1·0	82·1
Raw Wool	2·0	14·7
Cattle	1·8	64·7
	£7.2m.	

he weighted arithmetic average percentage increase attributable to uantity is 47.6%, taking the above items together with a number of nall increases as a representative sample of the total export increase. he effect of price increases on our exports accounts for approximately 0% of the total increase of £11·5m. and it is clear that comparing 1949 ith 1950 the quantity increases were relatively substantial in the latter ear.

When the recent trade figures for the six months Jan.–June 1951 are mpared with the corresponding period of 1950 it is discovered that ie whole export pattern has changed radically. The main exports have eclined to the following extent :

	Jan.–June 1950/51 £m	1950 Export Value as a%of total exports.
Cattle	0·66	32
Butter	0·14	2
Eggs "in shell hen fresh"	1·9	8
		42%

he exports of our main agricultural produce, representing 42% of the tal exports, have fallen due to diverse causes, which in some cases may e temporary, but, in others, are of a more permanent character. All ie agricultural exports have been affected by the bad weather but a more ntinuing cause is the unfortunate change in price relationships. The ıcrease in the price of feeding stuffs imported, in conjunction with the

relatively low price for the finished product, led to a diminution in quantity produced. In the case of eggs where the feeding cost rose so steeply and the price obtainable dropped by 9·1%,[1] the numbers of hens kept are estimated to have decreased considerably. This will have repercussions on future supply and exports for some time. The decline in the export of butter, while not so substantial in monetary values as the other declines, must be read with the increase in import (£1·7m.) of that commodity during the period.

In the 1949/50 comparison it was found that the increase in prices accounted for some 50% of the total increase in value exported, but in the second period 75% of the total increase in value was accounted for by price increases. The fact that a price increase accounted for such a great portion of the increase in exports shows that the continuing export level is not a stable one in terms of quantities. This is even more true when it is realized that our principal exports are declining to a great extent in volume. The main exception being preserved fruit which in the first half of 1951 rose in volume and value to the extent of £1.2m. The price increases which this country obtains for its exports may well be outbalanced by the quantity decreases in future periods.

In the import-export situation in this country, there is one other factor which is of great importance in a period of rising prices. If the prices of exports and the prices of imports on an average rise at the same rate, there will be an unfavourable reaction on the balance of trade which will arise because our imports are more than double our exports. It is only in a situation where export prices rise at a greater rate than import prices that price increases are neutralized on the balance of trade, assuming there is no major change in volumes.

One other aspect of the trade statistics needs examination in order to complete the picture. The source of our imports is of importance in view of the fact that dollar aid to this country has now ceased and that we have incurred a non-self-liquidating loan repayable to the United States. In the year 1950 the deficit incurred with the U.S.A. and Canada together amounted to some £15.3m in total balance; against all expenditure (£28.3m) with these two countries our exports came to only £1.4m, the balance being made up by emigrants' remittances, legacies, tourism, and other income together with the withdrawal of E.R.P. loan. In the Jan.–June 1951 period our imports from Canada and U.S.A. amounted to £15.8m as against £13.1m for the same period in 1950. Although the exports to these countries have increased (in the case of the U.S.A. by some £0.5m and in the case of Canada by some £0.18m), the gap in our balance of payments with the dollar area is expected to be very

[1] Quarterly Comparison Jan.–March 1950/51 published in the Irish Trade Journal, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, June 1951, p. 142.

stantial for the complete year. While making every effort to increase exports to dollar areas, it seems wise in the present circumstances to sue a policy of importing only bare essentials from Canada, the U.S.A. other hard currency areas, especially in view of the prospective tighten- in sterling convertibility.

V.

The Irish Trade figures reveal an ominous deterioration. Although policy of repatriating sterling assets in the form of productive goods, igorously applied, might lead either to an increase in exports or a uction in imports in the long run, the net foreign disinvestment which oing on apace will, if unchecked, lead to the utter exhaustion of available ources, which otherwise would bear the deficit in the balance of pay- nts. If measures are not taken immediately to reduce the trade deficit o increase our invisible exports, then this exhaustion will shortly come. leed the Minister for Finance places it as soon as 1954[1]. Should such osition arise, the repercussions on the internal economy of the country uld be far-reaching and effect most adversely all sectors of the economy.

If the standard of living is to be preserved after the exhaustion of our ling assets, this country would need an accommodating loan from Great tain to tide over the gap in her Balance of Payments.[2] The point ere some accommodating finance would be necessary may, of course, ne sooner. If the movement of the net Bank assets held elsewhere orrelated with the surplus or deficit on the Balance of Payments over last sixteen years, it is found that the fluctuations show a similar nd although in most cases the full effect of a deficit is not felt as a decrease et assets held elsewhere for some three months, because of the extension credit facilities abroad for import payment. When the danger limit external bank holdings arrives, and the commercial banks no longer sell holdings abroad, some method of finance must be found. If country is to meet its external obligations, some active measures must taken by the government. Now is the time to discuss these and to ose the most suitable ones.

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[1] Dail Debates, 18/7/51, Vol. 126, No. 12, Col. 1898.

[2] In modern writing on the Balance of Payments problems in various countries, there tendency to personify the country; it must always be realised, however, that it is traders, consumers and purchasers who, themselves, cause the fluctuations. In r to analyse the problems it is essential to bear in mind what class of persons or institu- s are responsible for the action taken. The increase in the country's incentive to ort may be the result of the relaxation of government import restrictions or increase emand within the country with an increase in the marginal propensity to import, he reduction of import prices. Remedies against disequilibrium are normally taken he Central Authorities, but in the final analysis it is the reaction of the policy on viduals and firms which leads to a change in balance.

Perhaps the most facile measure would be the mobilization of external assets held by individuals and their compulsory sale to the Central Bank for resale abroad. This, however, would be only a temporary measure and further corrective steps would be necessary. The possibility of active deflation of the economy in order to reduce the demand for imports cannot be overlooked. Such a policy, however, would prejudice the welfare, employment and security of large sections of the population. To safeguard these interests it would be preferable to find foreign loan accommodation to bridge the gap. This solution presents two difficulties: first, owing to our failure to improve our general balance we are not in an advantageous position to negotiate a foreign loan ; secondly, we should find it difficult to repay any such loan.

Higher taxation and rigid control of imports would have a deflationary effect and the latter would have an immediate effect on the Balance of Trade. Steps could be taken by freeing the parity of the Irish Pound, by exchange control or by import restrictions to prevent spending on imports. The method of physical import restriction by tightening the "mesh of essentiality" is the most practicable policy in the circumstances of the Irish economy, but here the further problem of the issue of import licences with undue profits to the recipients of the quotas arises. As the supply of the imported articles is restricted within the country, the price will rise, and the extra margin will accrue to the influential importer who obtains the licence. Price-control may be established on a tight scale but nevertheless the demands of the final consumers at the controlled price cannot be fulfilled. This will necessitate an official rationing system for most commodities but there will be nothing to prevent the final consumers from reselling the product and gaining the extra margin which depends on the demand-elasticity of the product. The government, however, may appropriate the extra margin by means of a special import fee, otherwise the surpluses will generate increasing monetary demand. The levying of an import fee can be adjusted to the correct height and ensure an equitable and efficient distribution of the licences amongst competing importers by auction to the highest bidders.[1]

As the deficit in the Balance of Payments is not improving, some of these unpleasant alternatives must soon be put into practice. It is surely much sounder to approach the problem now while some sterling assets remain to meet a small annual deficit. To wait until all our external resources are consumed is to court disaster. A fall in consumption must be suffered sooner or later. Hence before the position worsens and involves us in financial embarrassment, some immediate steps should be taken to secure deflationary effects.

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[1] For a full development of such an auction system vide Meade op. cit. p. 285-7.

If the period of capital development in this country is to be continued, finance for excess imports might be obtained from the natural flow apital funds from other countries. Granted that the economic climate ains suitable and that the yield on capital is attractive, aliens will tinue to invest their money here. The present crisis in the Balance of ments makes additional capital from outside the state so necessary t it might be wise to encourage aliens by relaxing somewhat the Control Manufacturers' Acts. This would give foreigners greater control over ir capital, and so give them an extra inducement to come to this country. attractive as this dependance on foreign capital may seem, it is obviously ferable to the political dangers of seeking external economic aid from oreign government. Economic, military and political conditions which ght be attached to an external loan from either America or Great tain would be scarcely acceptable to Irish Nationalist policy.

If the large deficit on the Balance of Payments which has been incurred the last few years were proved to be self-reversing in the building of productive capital assets, the problem of covering the gap when rling assets are exhausted might well be a transitory one ; when, however, examining the figures at close range, capital imports are found to few and questionable, the problem is seen in its most serious perspective.

MICHAEL J. MACCORMAC

CATHOLIC INFLUENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS[1]

BY DOUGLAS WOODRUFF

TWO years ago in the University of Chicago—that very remarkable institution which has been defined as a Baptist foundation where Jewish professors teach Catholic doctrine to atheist students—the President, Dr. Robert Hutchins, gave a lecture on St. Thomas and the World Community in which he demonstrated how far Thomas had gone beyond Aristotle, his master in political authority. St. Thomas recognized that for a Christian it is not sufficient to be enthusiastic about the institution of the family and about the institution of the nation ; there is a third obligation : to be enthusiastic about the larger community of which national communities are themselves only a part. The relationship of the family to the nation corresponds to that other relationship which the national community has to something wider and deeper than itself.

Dr. Hutchins suggested that St. Thomas understood this not merely by the light of Christian teaching about the universal character of the Church, formed for all men and therefore presupposing that all men do belong to one society and that all by right should be members of the Catholic Church, but also because in his day there did exist in Europe a common society, Christendom, with much more shape and definiteness than anything Aristotle had known or the vague, common feeling that the Greek City States had that they were one society against the Persian barbarians.

We here assume that Catholics ought to be more universal than people who do not share their faith ; we assume that they ought to be more alive to what is happening in the twentieth century, more alive to the transcending of exclusive nationalism.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an extraordinary upsurge all over the world of romantic nationalism. It was really the taking over by the peoples of the absolute, exclusive, selfish position that the Renaissance monarchs and dynasties had successfully claimed for themselves after they had wiped out the universalism of the Middle Ages in favour of the national state.

The Catholic sovereigns had tried to reduce the Church in their dominions to national status under them. They secured control in the choice of bishops. Indeed when Napoleon produced his famous Catechism into which he had written that it was the duty of a French Catholic to obey the Emperor Napoleon, he was going very little farther

[1] The substance of a lecture given to members of the Catholic Association for International Relations in Dublin on 6 July 1951.

an Louis XIV had gone. The Catholic monarchs were not distinuished from the Protestants in their autocratic intentions, but being atholics were restrained by the existence of the Papacy from making the r-reaching doctrinal claims over a national Church that the Kings of ngland and Prussia were able to make.

The nationalism that grew up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ought to secure for the sovereign people all the rights to an exclusive yalty similar to that which the sovereign monarchs had been so successful securing for themselves. Those two centuries saw economic policy scaping more or less from the control of governments, while on the other and religion and what is so closely connected with it—higher education -was brought more and more under state control. It would have been uch more reasonable had it been the other way about : had governments id : " economic matters we must control, but these spiritual matters e obviously universal things outside our competence."

The middle years of the decade from 1770 to 1780 were marked multaneously by the production of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* nd by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, a suppression which epresented the low-water mark of the power of the Papacy in the world. he Society of Jesus was detested by the Catholic sovereigns because was not a national society but a supra-national one with a particular legiance to the Holy See. At that time the power of the Papacy was eak ; it had been continuously and gravely falling ever since the Treaty f Westphalia in 1648. That Treaty was the last great international ocument in which the Papacy was recognized as a force in Europe.

The changing attitude to economics is significant because at the me of Adam Smith a universal character did come back into European ociety. Hand in hand with the acceptance of the liberal creed went the loption of the international gold standard. Ultimately this gold standard nked all countries in one universal society. Throughout the nineteenth ntury governments were content to let their money be regulated by rces outside their control. Thus they voluntarily limited themselves that great attribute of sovereignty, the power to issue and control the nount of money in their country.

I am just old enough to remember how, because of that, all sorts of nportant people before 1914 used to explain to the young that there ould never be a Great War, because any government that went to war ould be bankrupt in a year. They used to say that no government proosing to make war would have any ability to continue to raise money ; e City would not consider a war a good proposition, and the money ould not be lent for long. That was the climate of opinion that had en produced by a century of economic liberalism. In 1914 even so dical a man as Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, ent along to borrow money in the open market in competition

with borrowers from all over the world, and paid five per cent., the regular rate, for the money he raised.

In the thirty odd years since that War, governments have resumed full control, for ill or good, of their currencies, their finance and consequently of the economic life of their peoples. To that extent the twentieth century has been a century of tightening national communities. This is the great obstacle at the moment to that progress towards union of an Atlantic community that is on other grounds so urgently necessary.

We can see therefore in those two centuries economic liberalism creating international trade and making the whole world one for the purposes of business and exchange, while at the same time there emerge movements of romantic nationalism, coming up all over the world, whose effect was often to make peoples increasingly discontented with these liberal arrangements. We can see it clearly to-day when a politician coming up from below sets out to improve the standard of living of his countrymen, e.g. the new Premier of the Gold Coast considers Gold Coast cocoa as the great asset in his hands. That is the mandate of the national stateman : with the cards in your hand—cocoa or whatever the commodity may be—drive the hardest bargain you can to protect your own people.

Twentieth century man must recognize what St. Thomas said : a community is not self-sufficient in itself. Yet communities were much more self-sufficient in his day than any of them can pretend to be in the twentieth century.

In every country to-day we find these two great tendencies in conflict with each other : what may be called the democratic or National Socialist tendency to concentrate on national communities, to try to protect each particular community's economy by a self-sufficiency policy ; and the more universal tendency to recognize that the scale of the world has changed to-day, that there is no military defence or economic prosperity inside these national communities, if they are considered in themselves.

In that conflict, going on in every country in Europe, the Catholics are on the whole on the universal side, as they ought to be. But we have to recognize that Catholic influence in the middle of the twentieth century is not in the least what you would expect when you see how many people in the world claim to be Catholics. Statistically, we are a very impressive body : some 400 millions is a fifth of the whole population of the earth ; in Western Europe a very much higher proportion than that claim to be Catholics. There is no country in Western Europe, outside Scandinavia and perhaps Great Britain, where Catholics are not a very influential and powerful body, whose views politicians should be compelled to respect. Why is it then that Catholic influence to-day is so very much less effective than it ought to be ?

II

I am not going to develop the origins of this state of affairs beyond ng that the Council of Trent was very much to blame by increasing authority of the bishops over the clergy without making certain that appointment of the bishops would rest completely with the Church. rough the influence of governments in episcopal appointments, the ular powers secured the appointment of men who accepted limitation the state of the range of their active interests. That meant that ernments claimed more and more, and left less and less to the clergy. All the anti-clericalism, all the hostile legislation which at one time another was imposed on Catholics in every country in Europe was posed in the name of national unity and sovereignty, down to the last secutions which Hitler and Himmler were preparing for the post-war iod in the event of their victory. The motive was always that the sence of Catholics weakened the national solidarity because they owed ouble allegiance. That is the most successful tribute from our enemies the continued vitality of the Catholic religion. But the fact that this slation could be imposed whether by the liberal regimes in Italy, nce or Spain, or by the totalitarian regimes, is itself a revelation of v completely the balance between Church and State had been success- y weighted down in favour of the state in the previous three centuries. When the Catholics in each country began to organize and mobilize mselves in order to influence public affairs, they have had to do so in a itical way as a political party under the general conditions set up by political and secular rulers. They have had access to public opinion, it is a public opinion, even among Catholics, which has been conditioned secularists. When priests preached in England on behalf of Archbishop pinac or Cardinal Mindzenty, there were always Catholics ready to say rwards: 'What a pity the priest talked politics from the pulpit day.'

That reaction is an inheritance from the days when politics had a ch more restricted meaning than it has to-day. In the last century definition of politics has been made wider and wider by politicians the name of democracy and of the will of the people, so that it now ludes the whole of lower education, much higher education, and in ny countries the moral formation of the next generation. In England have not yet managed to awaken Catholics to the realization that gion cannot exclude politics when politics has come so far into religion. is is a matter of definition that is particularly urgent and acute in cation, but is also important in international affairs and action.

The idea is that people are the business of governments, that govern- nt is the business of political parties, and that political parties should have a confessional basis. It is widely resented and misunderstood England that there should be parties on the Continent that have an

avowedly Catholic basis. It is also resented by Americans who find it a contradiction of the tenets of the American Constitution, which w formulated for the most part by Protestants who thought of the Churc as a particular building, a particular little local society to which a ma gave his adherance.

In the American Zone in Germany last year I had plenty of experienc of American officers' utter failure to understand the position of the Catholi Church. One resident American officer said to me : ' I am a convince churchman back home, but I would leave my Church if I heard anyon in my Baptist Church back home talking like the Archbishop Frieburg about what people should do on problems that concern the Governmen of West Germany.'

He did not know however that there is no tradition in Europe o government neutrality towards the Catholic religion. Governmen always either supported it or tried to destroy its influence ; the fiercenes of the conflict between the Socialists and the Catholics turns on tha Both of them regard the state as either their powerful friend or enem They do not believe it can, in fact, be neutral. Once that is a fundamenta assumption (and it goes all the way back to the Roman Empire) it essential for Catholics to form themselves politically into organizatio parallel to their opponents. That is the basic reason for the Catholi parties in Europe. But in the world to-day there is also urgently neede much more Catholic mobilization than has yet been achieved.

I remember talking to a Minister in exile of the Government of Kin Peter which was swept away by Tito and the Communists. This Ministe said to me : " Perhaps you from the outside can tell us what we hav done wrong. We thought we had, among the Slovenes, mobilized th Catholics over the whole field of life. We had things so arranged that w could press button A and we would have an immense procession o Catholic men, and press button B and we would have an equally larg number of Catholic women. Yet against the Communists with thei military tactics and nocturnal murders, the whole thing has been swep away. It cannot be that we have been destroyed because we were no prepared to match murder with murder ; it goes deeper than that. I must be that the idea left behind by the Hapsburgs was still dominant that a man's religion was not so important as all that, that religion coul be ignored. It was triumphantly ignored later by Tito when he persuade the Western Powers that although he and his Party were openly atheis they could be accepted as representatives of the Catholic and Orthodo people of our country."

What has happened to the world when men like Franklin Roosevel who call themselves Christians, did not consider it important to mak christianity a test at Yalta ! All they wanted was a declaration that th governments would be " democratic ", a word that has lent itself to an

mber of varying definitions. If it had been sufficiently understood t no government would be accepted as representing the Poles that was in close touch with the Catholic people of Poland and was known and roved by them, the double-crossing in which the Communists engaged cessfully could not have been possible. That is one explanation of our sent weakness ; we have only succeeded in getting " freedom of ship " as one of the Four Freedoms in the sense that men are legitiely entitled to ask for liberty to attend Church and to engage in worship they might engage in golf on Sunday. Catholics mean by freedom worship something much wider and deeper.

We have the numbers that are needed, if we can achieve the mobilization the emphasis. This Catholic pressure in the form of political parties very strong in Italy, Holland, and Belgium, fairly strong in Western rmany, divided but collectively fairly strong in France, and very strong Spain ; it is also very strong on the frontier counties of Austria, and in suppressed parts of Central Europe ; it is weak in Switzerland because long there has been a convention in that country that no Swiss should to influence another Swiss in his religious or political ideas.

Catholics have in their hands all the means and opportunities needed organize such a mobilization of Catholic opinion : the press and radio, ociations and congresses. All these things are there but at present y do not have the bite or grip that they should have. There is a huge d for Catholics on the radio now that it is so cheap to record programmes send them through the post for re-broadcasting. Catholics could do at work in familiarizing people with the thought and work of fellow holics in other countries.

Catholics understand very well the duty of the husband and the father the duty of the citizen to his country : they are, in fact, pre-eminent ractising them. But there is a third enthusiasm to a larger community which they have only a sketchy idea. An obligatory patriotism must e its place, but in recent times this has been carried to the point of oming a religion ; for a number of people it is the exclusive source of otion. The emphasis to-day should be in the other direction. Anyy who edited a Catholic paper knows that even Catholics are aordinarily hard to interest in what happens outside their own ntry. It is the parish pump mentality. Something that happened the priest's housekeeper's cat is more interesting than violent ecution of Catholics at a distance.

The last move of the Holy See has been the creation of an International ociation of Catholic men. It started last year, beginning as one of contributory factors in the great congress of laity, organized for ober in Rome. This Association had its first meeting in Germany, point only 30 kilometers from the beginning of the Soviet Zone. It combined with the reunion day of Catholic men in Germany, as a

gesture of solidarity to the Catholics in Germany who are at the preser moment exposed to the Eastern threat. The work of this Association still in fairly embryonic condition: the main question to be decide is what degree of organization ought to be given or can be given to th ordinary Catholic laymen in the different countries of Western Europ or Canada or the United States. It has not travelled a great distanc but it has travelled a difficult distance because so much in modern histor has pulled in the opposite direction. It will in time bring them to the poi of seeing national communities in proper perspective, not as inappropriat objects of an exclusive allegiance.

Yet the great inspiration of the resistance movement throughout Europ was overwhelmingly a patriotic emotion. The paradoxical situation the war's end arose that these national movements were quite unabl to stand on their own feet, they were carried forward by the help an intelligence of the Americans in these matters. The most active elemen in these countries were patriotic and nationalist, not Communist. So it only since 1945 that the slow realization has come that national uni was not enough, that a larger thing was being called for by the march o events.

It is of very great significance that it is Robert Schumann, Signo de Gasperi and Dr. Adenauer who have gone farthest, most wholeh heartedly, in trying to create to-day the nucleus of European unity. Thes men are not only Catholics but Europeans from the heart of Europe But if you get further away from them, you feel more and more the pu of nationalism. England came out of the war without its politica institutions being discredited: the people had no sense that their politica regime had broken down and was inadequate. In England governmen departments, especially the Foreign Office, have been insisting that the traditional business in life is the defence of the national interest: th weight of permanent officialdom, of the trade union movement, of con siderations of national economy, and of many other interests has bee always restraining the far-sighted politician from any imaginative mov towards unity. But their total influence has not been sufficient to preven the forward movement.

There is undoubtedly something moving, something which derive its chief encouragement and warmest support from Catholic forces i Europe. It is something which Catholics in the great area of the Atlanti community ought to be supporting more warmly, just as they ought i their own countries be the great counterbalancing force to the democrat doctrine when it takes any exclusively national form. As in all thes matters, the great majority of men derive their ideas from fashion. Th restoration of a proper balance between the national and the wid adherence is pre-eminently a matter for the educated Catholic in eac country to undertake.

DOUGLAS WOODRUFF

OW LATIN CAME TO BE THE LANGUAGE OF EARLY CHRISTENDOM[1]

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'HERE are very few languages which have enjoyed such a world-wide success as the tongue of that tiny agricultural district in the centre Italy which is called Latium. The latinization of Western Europe gan with the unification of Italy under Rome but it took five centuries war to create the linguistic unity which was the prelude to the Romance guages. Nevertheless the expansion of Latin by the way of the success Roman arms has been completed and surpassed by another evolution, ich set in in the course of the first and the second centuries of the ristian era. When the Gospel of Christ was brought to the Western t of the Roman empire, the new thoughts and interests coming with ristianity transformed the Latin language. A new spirit moved the ciples of the new doctrine and new necessities of expression stimulated creative powers of the early Christian communities. In this way ne into being a christianized Latin, which survived antiquity: it vived in the Romance languages and it survived also in medieval in. Expansion of Latin in the early Middle Ages is expansion of ristianity: for Christianity has Latinity in its train and the Northern ples adopted Latin with the Christian faith. Latin was the language Christianity and at the same time of civilization. In this way medieval in became the mouth-piece of medieval Christian civilization. The ters of the Middle Ages moulded the Latin tongue to utter the various tters which moved their minds: for medieval Latin was not an immutable dead language, even though it was not the mother-tongue of peoples nations. Under the two universal influences of Christianity and ique culture medieval Latin will be for centuries and centuries the ository of European thought. This evolution has been possible ause Latin had become, in the course of the first centuries of our a Christian language: Latin had been modified and reinspired and sed in the bosom of the Christian communities. It was inspired by spirit of Christian faith and it was modified by the exigencies of ristian life.

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[1] An address read before the Classical Society, University College, Dublin, Spring, .

I

More interesting than describing the history of the expansion o Latin and of christianized Latin is making researches into the way i which Latin has become the mouth-piece of Christian doctrine, Christia thought, Christian life, literature, liturgy and so on. This is not only a interesting problem from an historical point of view ; it is also a ver interesting psychological problem. We can even see the drift of th question on a still larger scale : how does a doctrine, a religious conception affect human language ?[1]

We are aware nowadays of the existence of a special language of th group of the Christians in Roman society : the spiritual and doctrina differentiation caused by Christian ideas and conception of life has le to certain linguistic variations which are not accidental, nor arbitrary but which affect the language as a whole and which caused what is calle in French *une langue spéciale* : language of a group. A language of a group is a variation of the general colloquial language, from which i differs to a certain degree in consequence of special social and psychologica circumstances, without dissociating itself completely from the linguisti community from which it arose.

It is true that the existence of a linguistic variation, caused by th influence of Christianity on the Latin language, has been admitted eve since Christian ideas have been expressed in Latin. The early Christian themselves were aware of the fact that their tongue was in some respect different from the common language of their pagan compatriots. Sain Augustine, for instance, draws very often the attention of his hearer and readers to the fact that there are differences between the usage o the pagans and of the Christians. In his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (93, 3 he says that the Christians have other names for the days of the week than the pagans, though there were Christians who did not hesitate t use the pagan words. The bishop exhorts his flock not to use the ter minology of the pagans, for the Christians have their own language *habent enim linguam suam, qua utantur*. Again and again he says tha *salvare* and *salvator* are Christian words which did not exist before Chris had come into this world : *salvare et salvator non fuerunt haec latina ante quam veniret salvator : quando ad latinos venit et haec latina fecit* (*Serm.* 299, 6). Very often he speaks also of the : *ecclesiastica loquendi consuetudo*.

And even an earlier Christian writer, Lactantius, says that the works of Saint Cyprian were unintelligible for the pagans, though Cyprian writes—he says—a very elegant style. But the bishop of Carthage spoke a language which could only be understood by the Christians : *hic tame placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest, quoniam mystica*

[1] See e.g. Friedrich Kainz, *Sprachpsychologisches zum Thema " Religion und Sprache "*, Die Sprache 1, 1949, p. 101 ff.

quae locutus est et ad id praeparata ut a solis fidelibus audiantur : denique octis huius saeculi, quibus forte scripta sua innotuerunt, derideri solet
. Inst. 5, 1, 26). On the other hand the pagans were aware of the tence of a Christian terminology : Ammianus Marcellinus using ain Christian words adds very often : *ut christiani appellant, ut christiani tant ;* in this way he shows that in his time Christian terminology did yet belong to the general colloquial speech.[1]

In the early Middle Ages, after the reforms of Charlemagne who ined that the written language of the court, of legal documents and iterature had to be adapted to the rules of the literary Latin, once ht in the pagan schools of the Roman empire, there were still people were aware of the fact that the Latin of Christendom was quite rent from the tradition of the literary language, kept up by scholastic ition. In the ninth century Smaragdus, abbot of Saint Mihiel, stands for the Christian Latinity and he recognizes not only the *divinarum turarum auctoritas* in matters of language, but he considers certain icularities of the Christian tongue as an enrichment of the Latin uage.[2]

Though the Middle Ages were, since Charlemagne, under the spell ne Classics, they never forgot that the Classics had come, as Osborn lor says, as " a handmaid in the train of Latin Christianity ".[3] The rch kept always alive, in her liturgy and in the Sacred Texts, the ition of Christian Latin and though medieval Latin, from Charlemagne homas Aquinas, is marked by a certain dualism, caused by the scholastic ition on the one side and the Christian-Ecclesiastical on the other, Middle Ages always recognized, as Smaragdus did, the *auctoritas a* of Holy Scripture (that is to say of Christian Latin) as a linguistic literary standard.[4]

But, and this is rather surprising, even among the humanists of the enth century, who seemed to have settled once and for ever the dard of Classical Latin, there were men with a penetrating view were aware of the fact that language changes with the ideas it has xpress, and that one can hardly adopt a definite standard of correct ch.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, the father of the Northern humanistic ement, had once been such an enthusiastic admirer of classical literature he had written Sapphic strophes in honour of the Blessed Virgin, poetry gned to replace the ancient ecclesiastical hymns. But towards the

1 Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Le latin commun et le Latin des chrétiens,* Vigiliae Christianae 47, p. 1 ff. ; G. B. Pighi, *Latinità cristiana negli scrittori pagani del IV secolo,* Studi li, Milano 1937, p. 41 ff.

2 Cf. J. Leclercq, *Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne,* Revue du Moyen Age Latin, 48, p. 15 ff.

3 Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* II, London 1938, p. 136.

4 Cf. Aristide Marigo, *Il Volgarismo alle Origini della Lingua Latina del Medio Evo. toritas divina,* Studi Medievali, 13, 1940, p. 108 ff.

end of his life after he had edited the Vulgate and many texts of t Fathers, Erasmus became aware of the fact that there existed a Latin of t Christians, which was the natural linguistic instrument of Christi thought and which was not at all inferior to the classical Latin of Cice And in 1528 he wrote that priceless illustration of Erasmian humo and satire : the *Ciceronianus*. It is in this dialogue that he made a paro of the classicism and humanism of Roman ecclesiastical circles, whe the Pope was addressed as *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. When he h given in mocking fashion translation of the first verses of the Gospel Saint John into humanistic Ciceronian Latin, he added these very wi and very profound words : (*Cicero*) *dicturus esset hodie Christianus ap Christianos si viveret*. And : *ipse M. Tullius si viveret, hoc rerum sta Dei Patris nomen non iudicaret minus elegans quam Iovis O.M.*[1]

In modern times philologists and historians were also aware of t fact that there existed something called ecclesiastical Latin which differ from the classical Latin taught in the schools. And after the enthusias of modern classicism had cooled down a little, philologists condescend even to study this ecclesiastical Latin, though many of them consider it as barbarian and decadent and just good enough to be studied b theologians.

Then, in 1879, Koffmane published in Germany a remarkable litt book : *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Kirchenlateins* (Breslau). In t very first sentence of his Preface he ventilated a very clever idea, whi was worked out later by others : if language really reflects the life of t peoples, then Christianity must also be reflected in the language of t peoples who adopted the Christian faith. And in his introducti Koffmane puts the question does there really exist an 'ecclesiastical Latin " gibt es denn ein Kirchenlatein ? " And he answers in the affirmative because there exists a technical terminology of the Church, just as the exists a juridical, a medical or a grammatical terminology. Once h has established these facts, he studies the neologisms, in vocabulary a in meaning, and he speaks also of syntactical innovations. This la fact is particularly interesting, because it shows that Koffmane alrea saw that the linguistic differentiation of the Christian language was n limited to the vocabulary, as the cited words might suggest.

Some years earlier a French scholar had already treated the proble from a more general point of view. Frédéric Ozanam, better known an apostle of Christian charity than as a connoisseur of early Christi Latin, wrote a very interesting paper, later published in his *Oeuv Complètes* (Paris 1873, p. 133) and entitled : *Comment la langue latine devi chrétienne* ? Ozanam considered the influence of Christianity on La as a renaissance of late Latin which was, in his eyes, a decadent and alrea

[1] Ed. Cleric. I, 997C.

ing language. On the tomb of the pagan Latin, already dead, Ozanam w rise a new and young language, inspired by the new faith. We can rdly share his view of the degeneration of late Latin, but apart from the ct that Ozanam reproduces here the ideas of his contemporaries on the cline of Latin, he says very remarkable things on the way Christianity s influenced the evolution of the Latin language.

I have stressed these facts, because there are people who say that is early Christian Latin is just an invention of some modern philologists, rticularly of what they call the Nymegen School of Mons. Schrijnen. hey say that there exists just one Latin which, of course, has degenerated the first centuries of the Christian era before resulting in the Romance nguages. I wish to stress that people, from early Christian times on, ve always been aware of the existence of an early Christian Latin, ough they used to call it biblical or ecclesiastical Latin : but this is, ter all, a question of terminology.

But, on the other hand, there has been an innovation in the manner study nowadays this phenomenon of Christian Latin. And it has en the late Mons. Schrijnen, of the University of Nymegen, who s studied for the first time the whole problem in the light of modern nguistics. He has studied this Latin as a coherent linguistic system, t, as previous scholars had done, as an incoherent series of facts which d not touch the whole of the language.[1]

II.

I shall try to give in a nutshell the most important historical and nguistic facts which led to the " christianization " of Latin and which ade Latin for the centuries to come pre-eminently the language of estern Christendom. This evolution is not only important for the story of Latin, but it throws also a light on the development of all the estern European modern languages which, for a very big part, borrowed eir Christian terminology from Latin, either directly or indirectly.[2]

The Gospel was originally preached, in the Western Empire as well in the East, in Greek ; the Greek koinè can be considered in the first ntury as the oecumenical language of Christendom. The first Christian mmunities in Italy, in Gaul and even in North-Africa were Greek, d for almost a century Greek was not only the language of preaching,

[1] See e.g. Jos. Schrijnen, *Charakteristik des Altchristlichen Latein*, Latinitas ristianorum primaeva I, Nymegen 1932 : *Le Latin chrétien devenu langue commune*, vue des Etudes latines 12, 1934, p. 96 ff. And several other articles in : *Collectanea rijnen*, Nymegen 1939.
On the development of the theory of early Christian Latin see : Christine Mohrmann, *tstehung und Entwicklung den Theorie der Altchristlichen Sondersprache*, Aevum 13, 39, p. 339 ff.

[2] See e.g. H. Rheinfelder, *Kultsprache und Profansprache in den romanischen Ländern* nève-Firenze 1933 ; Th. Frings, *An der Wiege der deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1949.

of the liturgy, of the Bible and of the first Christian documents of what one day will be called early Christian literature, but it was also the colloquial speech of the Christian communities. This is not so surprising as it seems to be at first sight. Greek—that is to say the more or less vulgar koinè of the time—was an international language, spread all over the Empire. It was not only the language of the Eastern part of the Empire and of higher civilization, it was also the language of an Oriental proletariat, of the downtrodden masses, dispersed all over the Western part of the Empire. Greek was the colloquial speech of thousands and thousands of displaced persons : prisoners of war, slaves and freedmen, little merchants and sailors, and so many other destitutes who, being chased from their country, led a hand-to-mouth existence in the large cities, especially in the seaports, of the West.[1]

It was in the large cities of the West that Christianity took root among the Greek-speaking proletariat. And though right from the beginning Latin-speaking people will have been among the followers of the new faith, Greek was the first language of Western Christendom, and the Gospel of Christ was preached in one and the same language in the East and in the West. In the beginning this was hardly considered as unusual, because Greek was the usual language of Eastern religions and cults. But already in the course of the second century the situation changed. With the growth of the Christian communities, the number of Latin-speaking Christians increased and, in North-Africa as well as in Italy, slowly and surely the Christian communities were latinized. But this process started at a moment when Christian communities were already consolidated groups, with their own manner of life, where people of quite different origin and social standing had found a new unity in a new-found spiritual freedom and a new-born hope. So, right from the beginning Christian Latin exhibits all the usual qualities of the speech of a well consolidated group, which had secluded itself spiritually from what the Christians used to call ' the world ' : *saeculum, mundus*. But at the moment the Western Christian communities were latinized, there existed already a well-established Greek patrimony : several generations of Christians had spoken Greek and consequently all the ecclesiastical institutions had got Greek names ; Christian ideas were formulated in Greek ; the Bible circulated for several generations in Greek. This is an extremely important fact which must not be forgotten, if we wish to rate at its true value the first stages of early Christian Latin.[2]

It is as the speech of a socially and spiritually more or less isolated group that we must consider what we call early Christian Latin. This isolation was not only the result of the Christian conception of life ; it

[1] Cf. Gustave Bardy, *La Question des Langues dans l'Eglise ancienne*, I, Paris 1948.
[2] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne*, Vigiliae Christianae 4, 1950, p. 193 ff.

s also caused, or at least stimulated, by the persecutions : nothing is ore suited to bring people together than jointly endured persecution. ristian Latin came into being when Latin-speaking Christians tried formulate the *depositum fidei* in Latin and when Latin became little little the colloquial speech of the Western communities. But there s more : Christianity has always been, right from the beginning, a igion of the Book. The Bible was the first book which Latin Christians ed to read and to hear in their mother-tongue and so we can say that ristian literature, in the East and in the West, begins with the Bible. e ancient Latin bible-translations fall back on an already existing ristian terminology, but, on the other hand, these ancient translations ve greatly influenced the current speech of the Christians as well as ly Christian literature. During the second half of the second century tin bible translations were in use in Italy and in North Africa. Towards end of the second century Tertullian began to compose his writings, ich reflect an already highly developed Christian speech. When rtullian introduced the christianized Latin of the Christian nmunities into literature he made an extremely important innovation, innovation which Minucius Felix had not risked.[1] In Rome also transition from Greek to Latin had begun at a very early date, as the *epherd of Hermas* proves. And Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the rinthians* was translated into Latin at Rome in the second half of the ond century : in this early document Christian thought has already its impress upon the vulgar Latin language.[2] Only the eucharistic rgy of Rome will remain Greek till well into the fourth century. In rgical questions Rome has always been very conservative.[3]

As I have already stressed, we must study early Christian Latin as a erent system and we must be aware of the fact that it is a variety of Latin ; that, consequently, it develops according to the general rules ate Latin ; but that nevertheless it lives its own life. Under the influence Christianity Latin has undergone many changes which form part of ystem. These changes affect the vocabulary as well as the syntax, they are not confined to innovations caused by the direct need to expression to new, Christian ideas.[4]

In the earliest stages Greek plays, as I have already remarked, a very minent part. Greek, which had been for years the current language

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[1] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Quelques observations sur l'originalité de la litérature latine ienne*, Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, 4, 1950, 153 ff.

[2] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome*, Vigiliae stianae 3, 1949, p. 67 ff. and p. 163 ff .

[3] Cf. Th. Klauser, *Der Uebergang der romischen Kirche von der griechischen zur nischen Liturgiesprache*, Miscellanea Mercati I, Città del Vaticano 1946, p. 467 ff. ; stine Mohrmann, *Rationabilis—Logikos*, Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité)50, p. 225 ff. ; *Le Latin liturgique*, La Maison-Dieu 23, 1950, p. 5 ff.

[4] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Quelques traits caractéristiques du Latin des chrétiens*, ellanea Mercati I, p. 437 ff.

of the Western Christian communities, and was the language of the Sacred Texts and of the liturgy, is always in the background during the early stages of Christian Latin.

As to the vocabulary, there are in the first place the numerous Greek loanwords for special Christian institutions, words like *ecclesia, apostolus, evangelium, episcopus, baptisma* and so many others which have never been replaced by Latin words. They are the heritage of the first Greek period of Western Christendom and they give Christian Latin an apparently learned character, but in reality they are due to a certain *laisser-aller*. It is, indeed, a characteristic feature of all technical languages not to replace foreign technical terms, once they have been adopted. Now the Greek loanwords in Christian Latin are almost always technical terms for concrete things and institutions, seldom for abstract ideas. On the other hand the Christian ideas are rendered by Latin words which are very often neologisms, coined after the Greek models, but still more often existing Latin words, which adopt a new Christian meaning: here also the Greek model was often decisive. So πίστις was rendered by *fides*, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι by *confiteri*, ἀναγεννᾶσθαι by *renasci*. The two processes, word-formation and shifting of meaning very often go together and in this way a certain number of etymologically cognate words are connected, forming semantic groups .In this way for instance, *salus* was used for the Christian idea of salvation (σωτηρία) and the words which are in etymological relation with *salus* adopted automatically an analogic meaning: *salvus* and *salutaris* shared in the shifting of meaning and the system was completed by two neologisms *salvare* and *salvator*. In the same way *caro* and *spiritus* adopted the Christian meaning of σάρξ and πνεῦμα and they gave birth to the new adjectives *carnalis* and *spiritalis*. Morevoer, in the fourth century, the special meaning of *caro* inspired the theologians to coin *incarnari* and *incarnatio*, but these neologisms are on a higher intellectual level than the ancient words of the first Christian centuries.[1]

The foreign loanwords sometimes lead to neologisms with Latin suffixes and in this way the loanwords are, so to say, inserted in the Latin vocabulary. *Apostolus* and *episcopus* were real loanwords, but the derivative *apostolatus* has the typical Latin suffix for functions and professions and so *apostolatus* and *episcopatus* are the direct descendants of *magistratus consulatus* and so on. *Baptisma* and *baptista* were loanwords, but *baptizator* has a Latin suffix, like *blasphemator* and others, and these neologisms harmonize completely with Latin tradition.

There are also Latin words which reflect so completely and slavishly Greek models, that we can speak of real translation loanwords, like *lucrari*

[1] Cf. Matti A. Sainio, *Semasiologische Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der christlichen Latinität*, Helsinki 1940.

ich reflects the special Christian meaning of Greek *κερδαίνειν* nvert' and which leads to the new formation: *lucrator*. *Magnalia* he Latin translation of *μεγαλεῖα*, and *revelatio* of *ἀποκάλυψις*.

All these new words are in one way or another connected with the ristian range of thought or attitude of mind: there is always a clear tive, which justifies the neologism, the borrowing, the shifting of aning. Nevertheless there are many and many new words in Christian tin which occur exclusively in Christian texts and which seem to have onged to the special Christian vocabulary, but which have a general, n-technical, meaning: words, which have, as far as we can see, no special l direct relation with Christian thought. These are words like: *epticius, beatificare, beneplacitum, cervicatus, clarificare, cooperari, perator, cooperatio, corruptibilis, exspoliatio, falsator, fornicari, nicatio, immarcescibilis* and many others. How are we to explain the stence of these words? In the first place it is impossible that it is mere accident that we find these words exclusively in Christian texts. ıave checked hundreds of these words in the written material of the *esaurus Linguae Latinae* in Munich; there one finds hundreds and ndreds of references for these words to Christian texts and not a single erence to contemporaneous pagan authors.[1] This cannot be fortuitous l we must look for an explanation. Here we must, in the first place, re recourse once more to the notion of 'language of a group'. From moment that a group of persons forms a social and spiritual unity close that it affects its language and causes linguistic changes, these nges are not confined to the direct practical needs: once the process differentiation has started, it affects the language as a whole. So much the general explanation. Nevertheless there can also be special reasons a non-technical word formation. We must also take into account fact that a linguistic community can proceed, and actually proceeds, word-formation for other reasons than to supply a new meaning in the ct sense of the word. It is quite possible that the emotional value of existing word is not satisfactory in the eyes of the speaker. A word not only an objective, intellectual meaning, but it has also an emotional ıe, an affective character. This can be decisive for the coining of v words. Late Latin had for instance the verb *beare* 'make happy'. is word is extremely rare in early Christian texts. From the ancient le-versions on, we find always a word coined by the Christians: *tificare*, which renders the Greek *μακαρίζω*. It seems that for the ancient ıslators *μακαρίζω* had a special emotional character, which was not ressed in a satisfactory way by *beare*. In the same way, *δοξάζω* and *αλύνω* were seldom or never rendered by *(con)celebrare*, which was normal Latin word, but we find always the neologisms: *glorificare*,

[1] See Christine Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. ustin*, Latinitas Christianorum primaeva III, Nymegen 1932, p. 71 ff. and 164 ff.

clarificare, honorificare or *magnificare,* which was a very rare verb in th current language. There were also words which were replaced by th Christians for decency's sake : there existed a certain verbal taboo, whic excluded words like *scortum, scortari* and gave birth to euphemisti neologisms like *fornicari, fornicator.* Moreover the scrupulous literalisn of the ancient translators has coined many new words in order to imitat the words of the Greek Bible. So they coined *immarcescibilis* (ἀμαράντινος) *incoinquinatus* (ἀμίαντος), *mortificare* (θανατοῦν) and many others. Thes are in the beginning real biblical words, but many of them passed int the colloquial language of the Christians in consequence of the immens influence exercised by the Bible-versions on the current language.

Not only the vocabulary, but also the syntax has been subject to certai changes, which were partly due to foreign, Greek and indirectly Semitic influence, but which also can be explained in the same way as the formatio of non-technical words. It would take us too far afield to go further int this problem of the syntactical differentiation. I must refer to the studi on the syntax of Saint Cyprian, which Mons. Schrijnen and I publishe some twelve years ago and where a certain number of syntactical phenomen are discussed from the point of view of special Christian usage.[1]

III

These special innovations which affected the vocabulary and th syntax must be considered in connexion with the general tendencie which determined the development of the Christian language. Th dominating and most decisive tendency has been its rapprochement t popular speech : the democratic tendency. The Christian language ha definitely broken the bounds of classical restraint and it has overthrow the barriers of the classical literature. It marched consciously an decidedly towards a new freedom. This democratic tendency which is very characteristic for the first centuries of Christia Latinity, can be explained by two important facts. We have already seen that the first generations of Christians were chiefly drawn from th proletariat of the large cities. Now these first generations were indeed the real founders of the Christian linguistic tradition and in this way th vulgar elements became an integral part of Christian speech. Bu there was another psychological fact which was perhaps still more important. Antiquity, and above all late antiquity, lived under the spel of the word : it had an almost exaggerated admiration for polished and cultivated speech. Language was protected from every innovation and the more or less artificial features of classical Latin were preserved especially by the schools. The principle of *l'art pour l'art* foun

[1] Jos. Schrijnen und Christine Mohrmann, *Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des h Cyprian,* vol. I, Nymegen 1936, vol. II, *ib.* 1937, Latinitas Christianorum primaeva V and VI.

nusiastic supporters and language was extremely conservative. s spell of the word was definitely broken by the Christians; guage was in future essentially a means to an end, it entered service of the Church. Christian doctrine had to be formu- d in a clear way; the faith had to be preached; Christian timent had to be voiced. The new-found Christian spiritual freedom ded a free language ready to assume new tasks. The popular language, not the traditional speech which for years and years had been the gue of a privileged and dominant minority, could accomplish this task. With an undeniable utilitarianism the first Christian erations repelled the conservatism of the literary and cultivated speech turned to the freedom of the popular language.[1] In the early nslations of the Bible the popular language, free from the traditional servatism of literary language, has even been adopted for rendering Sacred Texts. And this fact has had far-reaching consequences, the prestige of the Bible has made acceptable many a popular word, ression or construction, which in later—and less democratic—periods ght have been rejected, if it had not been supported by the authority the Bible-language. The authority of the Bible-translations has not y supported the popular elements, it has also maintained certain cisms and Hebraisms in colloquial speech.[2]

By stressing the popular and the biblical elements I have mentioned important factors, which have determined the evolution of the Christian guage. The influence of the ancient versions of the Bible can hardly underestimated. The language of the Bible, that is to say of the ient versions, has set its stamp for ever on the Christian speech; it , so to say, ennobled the most popular linguistic elements.

Besides the democratic tendency and the biblical influence, there is a very important factor, which right from the beginning has determined development of Christian language and which has contributed much the very special character of Christian speech. I allude to the full wledge of the newness of the Christian doctrine and the Christian h, which refused every rapprochement to the terminology of the pagan s of the time and which resisted any linguistic contact with pagan s.[3] Words which were charged with pagan ideas were deliberately luded and very often foreign loanwords were chosen because the esponding Latin words were connected with pagan cults or rites, or in words were adopted, when the foreign words were 'pagan'. In earliest Christian times *vates* and *fatidicus* gave way to *propheta*, *plum* to *ecclesia*, but on the other hand *mysterium* to *sacramentum*, *auditor*, which evoked the idea of the pagan schools, had to give way

[1] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *Les éléments vulgaires du Latin des chrétiens*, Vigiliae stianae, 2, 1948, p. 89 ff. and p. 163 ff.

[2] Cf. Wilhelm Suss, *Das Problem der lateinischen Bibelsprache*, Historische eljahrschrift 27, 1932, p. 1 ff.; *id.*: *Studien zur lateinischen Bibel* I, Tartu 1933; Walter kow, *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae Christianis*, Berlin 1933.

[3] Cf. Karl Prumm S.J., *Christentum als Neuheitserlebnis, Durchblick durch dei stlich-Antike Begegnung*, Freiburg i. Br. 1939, *passim*.

to *audiens* and *catechumenus*. *Preces* and *precari* were the usual word for pagan prayer, but the Christians adopted the ancient verb *orare*, an *oratio* was the Christian prayer.[1]

What I have described so far are the beginnings of early Christia Latin. We can say that in the course of the second and the third centuri Christian Latin had settled down as a system: the greater part of th technical and of the non-technical words were coined or borrowed by th first Christian generations and the syntactical differentiation, as far as is due to Christian influence, goes back also for a large part to the fir centuries. During these first centuries also many biblical elements a introduced into the colloquial speech of the Christian communitie Nevertheless we cannot say that later generations have only transmitte the linguistic heritage of the first centuries. They developed what the had received from their ancestors, and then in the second half of the fourt century and the first half of the fifth a new creative period began. new influx of neologisms shows that Western Christendom was equal t the new task: to reform and inspire the ancient civilization and to establis what we can call a Christian humanism. This second creative period o early Christian Latin is marked by a certain rapprochement to the literar and traditional language. Nothing of the old and popular heritage o the first centuries is abandoned, for this linguistic patrimony had definite been adopted and its popular character had been forgotten. Neverthele the word-formation of the fourth century is more conformed to the literar tradition and above all Christian Latin has now been emancipated fro Greek. The Greek loanwords introduced in the course of the fourt century are few: Latin now lives its own life, it lives on the resourc of the Roman past and of the early Christian tradition. In this way th balance is redressed. Antique tradition is saved and the Christian heritag of the first centuries has passed definitely into the patrimony of Europea civilization: it passes into the Romance languages as well as into mediev Latin.[2]

This return to a certain traditionalism is chiefly the work of the Fathe of the fourth and the fifth centuries: of a Saint Ambrose and a Sai Augustine, of Saint Jerome and Leo the Great. They are at the sam time transmitters of the patrimony of the past and forerunners of th Middle Ages. What they mean for the tradition of the Western Churc and for the history of European civilization can hardly be put into word But it has been the work of the first generations of simple and inspire Christians to have fulfilled in their way the words of Christ: *γλώσσα λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς* 'they shall speak with new tongues'.[3]

CHRISTINE MOHRMANN

[1] Cf. F. Heerdegen, *Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Semasiologie* III, Erlang 1881; E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala 19 p. 39 ff.; *id. Syntactica* II, Lund 1933, p. 463 ff.

[2] Cf. Christine Mohrmann, *L'évolution et l'expansion de la Latinité chrétienne*, Aev 24, 1950, p. 147 ff.

[3] *Marc.* 16, 17.

E WORLD OF ST. TERESA'S LETTERS

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I.

HE remarkable collection of nearly five hundred letters[1] left by St. Teresa of Jesus, and still extant, throws a flood of light both upon events connected with the development of her Discalced Reform upon the characters of many who took part in them. All but six ese letters were written during the last twenty years of her life (1562–)—that is to say, after the foundation, at Ávila, of the first convent er Discalced Reform; all but nine are later than 1567, the year in h she was encouraged by the General of her Order to begin founding where; and more than half the collection bear dates between December and June 1580—the most critical period in the Reform's history. collection thus forms a background to many dramatic events which place during that history and at the same time supplies a commentary them.

The story of the growth of the Reform during the sixteenth century most continuously one of conflict and stress, divided sharply into periods. From 1562 to 1580, over and above the difficulties which d beset any movement backed by so little money or influence, St. sa and her collaborators had to contend with the unceasing opposition e Calced friars, who had no wish to be reformed, and said so with increasing vigour, and of various people in positions of authority who orted them. This phase of history ended in 1580 with the creation separate province for the Reform, but hardly had that been effected new complications, which had been threatening for some little time, n to arise within the Reform itself. The years from 1580 to are years of dramatic development. From being a province, the rm became first a Congregation of its Order separate from the rvance and finally an Order with complete independence. And apidity of this evolution was fully justified by its accelerated growth. een 1562 and the end of 1580 were founded fourteen convents and e priories or colleges; between 1581 and the end of 1594, nineteen nts and forty-seven priories or colleges. Yet that same period ne of bitter internal strife centring round a feud between two leaders

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The translations in this article are from my edition of *The Letters of Saint Teresa* s, published by Burns Oates and Washbourne and abbreviated 'LL.' in the notes. notes appear at the end of the article. The figures following 'LL.' give the er—in that edition and also in the Spanish edition of P. Silverio de Santa Teresa—letter quoted, and the figures in brackets which come next give the page in my . The abbreviation 'C.W.' refers to my *Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus* n, Sheed and Ward, 1946, 3 vols).

of the Reform, Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios and Nicolás de Jesús Ma generally known by their respective surnames of Gracián and Do Gracián was a well-connected and able young idealist, of great perso charm, who, joining the Reform at twenty-seven, had a meteoric ca which in nine years brought him, over the heads of many of his seni to the provincialate. Doria, an older man, had the disadvantages being an Italian and not setting foot in Spain till he was thirty, and joining the Order five years later than his rival. But he was a b administrator who, before entering the religious life, had had a prosper career in business ; and of the ruthlessness which, then as now, was esse to success in big business, he had an ample share. Once, therefore had decided that Gracián must go, it was only a matter of time until went. The conflict culminated in Gracián's expulsion from the Disca Congregation (as it then was), in 1592, and the phase of Carmelite his of which it was a part closed with the unexpected death of Doria years later.

As St. Teresa's letters end, a few days before her death, in 158 is the first of the two phases that they chiefly illustrate. With her l insight into character, and her affection and admiration for Grac who captivated her from their first meeting, she may quite possi even so early, have sensed the incipient enmity that was so soon to dec itself between two men of diverse and brilliant gifts, who, she ho would, with great advantage to the Reform, collaborate.

> I thought him [Doria] really sensible, and a good person to to for advice, and a servant of God, though he has not that gracious and serenity that God has given to Paul [*i.e.*, Gracián] . . . will fully recognize how valuable Paul is and he is quite resolve follow him in everything, and I was very glad to see that. In m respects, if Paul gets on well with him, . . . it will be advantageous for them both to be of one mind, and it will be greatest relief to me.[2]

But it was not until nearly seven months after her death, at the Cha of Almodóvar, that Doria's hostility towards Gracián manifested i openly and not until he was elected Provincial, in 1585, that the camp *à outrance* against him began. She was therefore never to appre the unconscious irony latent in a remark which she penned to Gra shortly before the Alcalá " Separation " Chapter of 1581 :

> You would find Father Nicolao [Doria] very useful, I a you. Whatever happens, his advice is always good, and a who has suffered so much from others, as your Reverence has be very glad to have a companion *who will not cause you any suf at all.*[3]

he conflict between Calced and Discalced, on the other hand, be followed, right through the *Letters*, in great detail. After the Reformed foundation had been made, in face of much local opposition, vila, five years elapsed before a second convent was founded, at na del Campo, but six more sprang up between 1568 and 1571, ll as three priories, and a college for men. Then, on the women's came a three-year halt, while St. Teresa was occupied with restoring ial security, discipline and spirituality to the convent of the Incarna- Ávila, where all her early life had been spent, and where she had sent, in October 1571, as Prioress. Four more priories, however, founded during 1572–3, and from 1574 to 1576 there was progress oth fronts, with the foundation of four more convents and three es.

was now that what St. Teresa calls the "great storm of trials" upon the Reform, continuing for nearly four years, during which apart from a college for friars at Baeza, no new houses were founded. before 1576 there had been much contention, not merely on account al conditions in some of the places where foundations had been , but throughout the Spanish provinces of the Carmelite Order. narrative which can so easily be read between the lines of the *Letters* vs all the twists and turns of the conflict, the complicated nature hich is due largely to a curious system then prevalent of dual iastical jurisdiction. The original Avilan community, for example, ubject, from 1562 to 1577, not to the General of the Order, but to rdinary, whereas all the later communities were under the General. 67, the Calced friars of Andalusia, at their own request, were also d under the Ordinary by the Pope, who appointed two Dominicans sitors to the entire Order, to act quite independently of the General. began the dual-control system, now embarrassing, now accommodat- ccording to circumstances, for the one side or the other. In 1575, xample, St. Teresa, after having unwittingly disobeyed the General's s to make no foundation in Andalusia, by making one at Beas de a, just inside the Andalusian border, was sent by Gracián, at that the Pope's Commissary, to found a convent in the very heart of lusia, at Seville, and, taking the Pope's authority to be superior e General's, she obeyed him. At the end of that year, when the ral ordered her to leave Seville for a convent of her own choice in e, and, once there, to stay, Gracián, in his capacity as Apostolic nissary, gave her a counter-order not to leave Seville till the following , and again she obeyed him. Into all this confusion, of which are only isolated instances, were precipitated the envy, hatred and e of the friars of the Mitigated Rule, who, seeing the Reform growing pidly, were apprehensive of its spreading throughout the Order. ineffective protest they passed to indefensible violence and open

rebellion. Dramatic scenes, in rapid succession, now enliven the st
The Calced friars of Seville refuse to obey Gracián, who comes to th
as Visitor appointed by the Papal Nuncio. The Calced Provincial
Castile, forbidding the re-election of St. Teresa as Prioress of
Incarnation, presides at the election and excommunicates the fifty-
nuns who vote for her. St. John of the Cross, a mainstay of the Refo
is kidnapped and imprisoned at Toledo, where threats, bribes and phys
violence are used in turn, all vainly, to make him return to
Observance.

On a higher level, too, the conflicting forces can now be cle
discerned. On the side of the friars of the Mitigated Rule is the Gene
once friendly to the Reform, but since the Beas episode becom
increasingly alienated from it, who in March 1576 sends to Spain an
friar named Tostado to enforce obedience to him, and to suppress cer
foundations of the Reform of which the dissolution had been decr
by a recently held Chapter-General. On the side of the Reform
King Philip II, attracted both by the austerity of its Rule and the persona
of its foundress, the Papal Nuncio, Ormaneto, and the President of
Royal Council, Covarrubias. Each side scores in turn. The Chap
General just referred to, that of Piacenza, dissolves all Discal
communities outside Castile and forbids the foundation of further hou
anywhere. The leading friars of the Reform meet and refuse to ob
The Royal Council forbids Tostado to exercise his functions. Orma
dies, and his successor, Sega, joins the opposing party. Covarrub
dies, and his successor, Pazos, though friendly enough, proves comple
ineffective. The Royal Council forbids the Discalced to obey Se
who retaliates by excommunicating and imprisoning their leaders.
this point, the General dies, and, Tostado having returned to Ro
Sega alone continues the persecution. Then, gradually, comes a gen
recognition that the only solution to the conflict is the creation of a sepa
Discalced province. In March 1579, Philip appoints four assessors
examine the whole question; the Discalced are removed from
jurisdiction of the Observance and given a temporary Vicar-Gener
the assessors recommend the separation; Discalced emissaries plead
same cause at Rome; Sega is won over; the excommunications
cancelled and the imprisonments ended; and finally, on 22 June 15
a papal Brief creates the new province, which holds its first Chap
in the following March. During the interval of peace between the end
of the external conflict and the beginning of the internal one, St. Tere
life draws to its close and her letters end. The last letters are concer
mainly with the four convents—Palencia, Soria, Granada and Burgo
founded between the promulgation of the Brief of Separation and
death. To her, the creation of the new province has brought an er
unclouded peace and she thanks God that she has lived to see it.

II.

here such stirring events were taking place, it cannot be thought sing that a letter-writer who combined a striking personality with tstanding gift for expression should throw light on many obscure s and immortalize many individuals who otherwise would certainly been forgotten. It is remarkable, when one comes to think of it, he life of a saint like Teresa perpetuates the most trivial happenings, lumines, not only the characters of comparatively important people ross her path, but the humblest personalities with whom, perhaps ccasionally,—sometimes even only once—she is brought into contact. or all the world like a fairy story : they have but to touch her and uch makes the memory of them immortal. What a procession of lies crosses the Teresan stage—and not hurriedly, but at a pace enough to allow us to recognize and remember them ! The first s and prioresses of the Reform ; the Dominican Visitors ; the two ios ; Philip's four assessors ; Rubeo, the Carmelite General ; Quiroga, ishop of Toledo—these have at least a place, even if some of them only a modest one, in religious history. Teresa's brothers and s, Salcedo, Pantoja, Julián de Ávila, García de Toledo, Ramírez, a, Reinoso—these, though forgotten in history, are remembered eresans for the closeness of their connection with the Saint. But of Salcedo's housekeeper, Lorenzo's servant, Serna, Ruiz, the ck-dealer, the faithful Serrano, Chief-Courier Figueredo, Roque ierta, Diego Ortiz, Báñez's novice Parda and that lachrymose friend rs whom St. Teresa so aptly nicknamed Weepy-Wailer ? Not f these could ever have imagined, or even have thought it credible, is or her name would be remembered after four hundred years. et, to the reader of the *Letters*, each one is not merely a name, but lividual, perfectly recognizable and unlikely to be wholly forgotten. e can read St. Teresa's letters, then, to extract from them occasional recious passages containing spiritual teaching, or to learn more the development of her Reform during the most critical years in tory. But one can also read them to get to know more about the alities, some of them outstanding ones, who made up that history. erhaps most people are more interested in the personalities than thing else.

nce many of the extant letters bear no superscription, and in some se the content gives no clue to the recipient's identity, it is impossible ertain the exact number of the correspondents to whom they are ssed. The total, however, is certainly not less than one hundred wenty. Of the 458 letters, 107 are either known or believed to been written to Gracián and 64 to María de San José, the Prioress Reformed convent at Seville. The remainder, with half-a-dozen

exceptions, are fairly evenly distributed. But the number of recip of the letters is as nothing compared with the number of persons menti in them. Here there is even less hope of ascertaining the precise since many individuals are referred to so vaguely as to be quite identifiable. In round numbers they cannot be fewer than eight hund a considerable proportion of whom are referred to scores of times; some four hundred seemed to have sufficient personality to justify inclusion in the biographical section of my *Handbook to the life and of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross.*

Viewed thus, St. Teresa's *Letters* resemble a huge portrait-galle or, to speak more appropriately, her writing being always so dynam vast stage crowded with animated figures of every type. Their diver and the extreme clarity with which many of them are drawn, are e ordinary, the more so because these letters are all purely private— one of them could have been written with any thought of public and very few were intended to be read by more than one person. T author describes clearly because she saw clearly; a professional psychol a man who had spent his life studying human nature, could hardly done better.

III.

Perhaps because of the virile strain in her own temperament, Teresa continually shows herself more interested in men than in wo and her friars are depicted with much greater animation, and in m greater detail, than her nuns. The charming and versatile Grac the shrewd and calculating Doria; the saintly John of the Cross; fiery and outspoken Mariano; old Antonio de Jesús with his perp grievances; the conscientious and fair-minded Ángel de Salazar, found it so difficult to do his duty both by the Observance and by Reform; the energetic Gregorio Nacianceno; the "rock"-like Jua Jesús (Roca); the crafty Alonso de Valdemoro, scheming against the Re but not scrupling to ask favours from its foundress; these are only most prominent of her friars, and it would throw this study out o proportion to reproduce the descriptions she gives even of these. as we shall see, friars are by no means the only men whose chara she dissects with such skill.

On the relations between St. Teresa and Jerónimo Gracián a could be written, and some day no doubt will. From the time of first meeting (May 1575) they developed a mutual affection prob unparalleled in the records of Carmelite history. "The good acc I had been given of him," writes St. Teresa, "had made me extre anxious to see him. But when I began to talk to him I was ha still, for . . . it seemed to me as if those who praised him to me h knew him at all."[4]

t would be tedious to quote all the passages from the *Letters* in which Teresa showers praises upon this young friar who was to become her spiritual father and her spiritual son. " To me, he is perfect, better for our needs than anyone else we could have asked God to us."[5] " He is so saintly ".[6] He " behaves like an angel ".[7] " Oh, Father, praise God for granting you the gift of getting on so well people you meet that no one seems able to take your place."[8] " Oh, Father, what majesty there is in (your) words ! "[9] Yet, outspoken ie is in these and in many other eulogies which could be quoted, are not undeserved. Those qualities of Gracián's which she nerates were precisely those which, as we know from contemporary es, struck others. Nor need we be unduly surprised that, only some months after her first meeting with this young man of thirty, she ld be recommending Philip II to put him in charge of the Reform, nost of those who were manning the new movement were young, even after Doria came on the scene, Gracián was looked up to by all born leader. In retrospect, we may think they were mistaken, but as in fact chosen by vote as head of the newly autonomous Reform 1 only thirty-six.

Further, enthusiastic though St. Teresa is in praise of her hero, she no means blind to his faults. On the contrary, she singles them from the beginning with extreme accuracy. The naturalness and ness of manner (*llaneza*), she tells him, which he has in such great sure, are gifts from God, but circumspection is necessary in the use iem, and they can easily be misinterpreted—so he had better not anyone the letters she writes him ![10] He should have more trust he has had in her judgment concerning an approach to the General, ad of being persuaded, as he so easily was, by others.[11] He is over-ile, too : " now . . . up in the air, now in the depths of the sea."[12] she asks him with deferential tentativeness, is he always careful t " telling the whole truth " ?[13] These faults, like those virtues, as accurately assessed by St. Teresa, at an early stage in her aintance with him, as they have since been by history.

Where she sometimes seems to exaggerate is in her concern for Gracián's ical welfare. A man of thirty might presumably be trusted to wear ient clothing and to choose his own mount—and if occasionally he fall off his donkey, would he, being young and active, be any the e for it?[14] To-day her constant fears lest the Calced should poison ood seem to us uncalled-for : to judge from their treatment of St. of the Cross, they preferred attrition to liquidation. But it is hard us to recapture the atmosphere of nervous apprehensiveness which ailed during those years of persecution ; and St. Teresa was always ned to be over-anxious about the health of those she esteemed—as

witness her concern over the Advent austerities of Báñez, and over mortifications practised by her brother Lorenzo, to whom, one wo judge, they would be unlikely to do the slightest harm.

On the whole, St. Teresa's picture of Gracián may be described one of remarkable fidelity. In a lesser person admiration and affect might well have blinded judgment; in her they quickened it.

Doria, whom she knew far less well, she naturally draws in less det So active was he, however, and so deeply did he impress his personal upon the Reform, that she refers to him in her letters more frequen than to any other person except Gracián, the Seville Prioress and l brother Lorenzo. But beyond expressions of admiration at his ma virtues—in particular, his efficiency—she says very little of his charact "A sound man, full of humility and penitence, with a great regard truth and able to win others' good will"[15]: that judgment fairly repres her attitude to him. Hopefully though she writes of the possibility t he might become Gracián's valued collaborator, her recommendation t Gracián should not be distant with him[16] (which he seldom was w anybody) suggests that she may not have been as happy about them at first sight she might seem. One would never suspect from her lette however, what actually happened.

To St. John of the Cross St. Teresa refers much less than to ma persons who meant much less to her and not a single one of all the lett which she must have written him has survived. Some, no doubt, we when he destroyed his papers at the beginning of the period of persecutio Some may have been impounded by the Calced friars when they kidnapp him.[17] And the rest? The rest he himself tore up one day because felt himself becoming over-attached to them[18]—a sad loss to lovers a admirers of the two Saints ever since.

Yet, notwithstanding this great gap, the place which St. John of t Cross occupies in St. Teresa's letters is unique: except during his captivi when all her thoughts of him were of pity, she hardly once speaks of hi without paying him a glowing tribute of affection, admiration and devotio She never mentions any of his works, as he does hers;[19] but the vividn of her allusions to his personality and character shows how near he w to her heart. The earliest of these tributes dates from pre-Durue days, when he was only twenty-six. And how clearly it portrays hi

> Small of stature . . . great in the sight of God . . . sensible person and well fitted for our way of life . . . The is not a friar but speaks well of him, and he lives a life of gr penitence . . . The Lord seems to be leading him by the ha . . . We have never seen the least imperfection in him. has courage . . . He is much given to prayer and m intelligent . . .[20]

hat, though warm praise, is couched in measured and judicial terms coupled with the suggestion that the young friar might get a little advice from Francisco de Salcedo, who at that time was still a layman. before long the Mother Foundress begins to speak of him very rently. First, she extols his sanctity. He is " a very holy Discalced er " :[21] " the holy Fray John of the Cross " ;[22] " a divine, heavenly " ;[23] *aquel santico* (the diminutive denotes his smallness of stature), t little saint ",[24] for " people look on him as a saint, which, in my ion, he is and has been all his life."[25] Then, his learning : as he s older, she begins to use her favourite nickname for him—" Seneca ".[26] ' has great experience and learning " and is " sorely missed here by e who were brought up on his teaching."[27] Less than ten years she had asked Salcedo (now a priest) to advise him, we find her ng John, as " a man of experience ", above his former mentor.[28] there is more than experience in his wisdom : " he has the spirit of Lord " ;[29] " he is a soul to whom God communicates His spirit."[30] e the less, he is very human—he cannot, for example, " endure the le " in Andalusia[31] ; neither, for that matter, can St. Teresa herself. s his kinship with her embraces both the trivial and the sublime :

> You would never believe how lonely I feel without him . . . He is indeed the Father of my soul and one of those with whom it does me most good to have converse . . . You can behave with him just as you would with me . . .[32]

even with Gracián had St. Teresa a closer spiritual affinity than St. John of the Cross.

By contrast, Antonio de Jesús—Antonio de Heredia, as he was before oined the Reform, though it is perhaps significant that one never les to him by his patronymic as one does to Gracián, Doria and even a : he was far less of a personality than they. Perhaps he aged rapidly, ne was already fifty-seven when he joined the Reform, and the story ne five clocks[33] suggests that he was both unpractical and childishly culous even then. Soon he began to show signs of pusillanimity weakness in government.[34] Gentle by disposition, he was apt to the habitual laxity of his rule with outbreaks of severity which roved all respect for him.[35] In his prime, his height and fine bearing isposed people in his favour, and it is much to his credit that, enjoying esteem which he did in the Observance, he should have so resolutely g aside his dignity and embraced the hardships of Duruelo.[36] But he became rather a disappointed man. He was always the person —rightly, according to St. Teresa[37]—held the second office rather the first, who was sent with some other friar to accompany and se him rather than to do the work himself. The climax came, at Separation Chapter, when he lost the provincialship to Gracián, by a

small margin. True, he was seventy-one, which was a much great age in the sixteenth century than it is in the twentieth; but only in h late eighties did he appear to be conscious of failing strength. St. Tere speaks of him a good deal more flatteringly in the *Foundations* than i her letters. "A good old man" she terms him in a letter to Philip II[38] "though I am very much attached to him . . . and he is a saintly man she confides to Gracián, "I cannot help realizing that God has not give him the ability for the work he is doing."[39] It was very much in tha way that she normally thought of him. Though she respected him a one of her first two friars, she never gave him her fullest confidence, an in particular, she was impatient with his puerile jealousy of Graciá intimacy with her. "I am told," she remarks, "he is very much ups to find how many letters I write and how seldom I write to him"[40]; an again and again she adjures her correspondents not to let Antonio kno that she has written to Gracián:

> As far as possible, he should not be told how many letters I write tell my Father to say nothing to him about it.[41]

That is not the kind of admonition that one expects to find necessar within the Discalced Carmelite Reform.

The remaining friars are drawn in much greater detail than the less nuns. Partly, no doubt, this is because St. Teresa's contacts with the were more complicated and her attitude to them was more critical, bringin out traits of their natures which in more conventional relations woul not be observed. Partly, as has already been hinted, it may be becaus she was in any case less interested in women than in men. Some those whom she portrays to the life have already been enumerated. The are many more: the reader of the *Letters* will soon come to know th Calced stalwart Juan Evangelista,[42] the brilliant but untrustworth Baltasar Nieto; Ambrosio de San Pedro and his cousin Gabriel de Asunción; Gracián's secretary, Bartolomé de Jesús; Diego de la Trinida Roca's companion in Rome; Juan de la Miseria, the lay-brother wh painted St. Teresa's portrait; Elías de San Martín, a General-to-be Germán de San Matías, who was kidnapped with St. John of the Cross and any number more. Sometimes these friars are drawn in mere thumb nail sketches, but the outlines are invariably sharp and clear. Instea of examining them, however, let us turn to some more detailed portrai of the numerous members of other Orders than Carmel, of secular priest and of laymen.

One of the most prominent of the clerics, and perhaps the one whom St. Teresa wrote more outspokenly than of any other, was Portuguese, Dom Teotónio de Braganza, a younger brother of the fir Duke of that name, who, as a boy of seventeen, joined the Society Jesus, but left it at the time of the trouble between St. Ignatius of Loyo

Simon Rodrigues, and eventually succeeded the Cardinal-King of tugal, Dom Henrique, as Archbishop of Evora. He first met St. esa in his forties, at Salamanca, and they had a good deal to do with h other, though they never became close friends. On the one hand, m Teotónio often sought her advice on spiritual matters ; on the other, took such an interest in her foundations that in one place she terms the " protector " of the Carmelite Order. Her extant letters to him, in all, are mainly long ones ; and, except where she girds at him for ressing her, in Portuguese fashion, by titles of exaggerated respect, hly deferential. What is most interesting is the way in which she s about him to others. While recognizing his many good qualities, depicts him as unmethodical and un-businesslike. This she had arently failed to discover on their first acquaintance. " Our good nd Don Teutonio is doing extremely well," she remarks, in 1575, some negotiations in Madrid, " and it looks as if the business be successful."[43] But fifteen months later she is writing very erently :

> I don't know if good Don Teutonio will do anything : it seems improbable and he is not much use at negotiations.[44]
>
> I have not much confidence in Señor Don Teutonio's ability as a negotiator. He has all the will in the world, I agree, but there is little hope of his getting anything done.[45]

r unready Dom Teotónio ! Yet we must not forget that it was who published the Saint's *Way of Perfection* at Evora, in the year r her death.

Another figure of commanding stature is the famous Dominican ologian, Fray Domingo Báñez. Both St. Teresa and her Reform ed much to the Dominicans, and speaking portraits of a number hem are found in her pages. Báñez, the chief of these, was her friend m the time of the foundation of St. Joseph's, Ávila, until her death. have few (such friends as he) left now ", she writes in 1581.[46] She gles him out in her correspondence by referring to him, almost lusively, as " my Father "—Gracián, when he comes on the scene, ng " *our* Father ". A single word of criticism from him would affect more than all that another critic could say.[47] He had every claim n her respect and esteem. He was behind her in all her foundations : " loves them and looks upon them as his own."[48] And he was always dy to help her in her spiritual life : " whenever I have had any new erience," she wrote in 1576, " I always correspond with him still."[49] ncerning the health of only one person—Gracián—was she more citous. Her request that the Valladolid Prioress will " find out if s wearing enough clothes " and " make him wrap up his feet," especially ome indisposition of his is due to immoderate penances, " of the kind

he generally does in Advent, like sleeping on the floor,"[50] shows the sa maternal instinct as her fears for the safety of Gracián on his donk Yet there have survived only four of her letters to him. Was this beca the good professor, like so many of his nation, was a bad corresponden There is a withering paragraph in a letter dated 2 November, 1576 in which a friend of the Dominican Visitor, Pedro Fernández (and therefo probably a Dominican too) is stigmatized as ungrateful to her because his laxity about letter-writing—and also as inconstant in his attachmen P. Silverio, in a note to his Spanish edition of the *Letters*, assumes th this friend is Báñez : personally, I am inclined to doubt it.

IV.

But we must pass the clerics more rapidly in review if we are to g any idea of them as a whole. To take a type quite different from both t aristocratic Braganza and the erudite Báñez, there is Garciálvarez, t Sevilian nuns' conscientious chaplain, who later caused so much trou in the community and had to be removed. In her eulogies of him " so perfect " " so full of charity ", " no one connected with him cou be bad "[52]—St. Teresa may be thought to have displayed less than h usual perspicacity of judgment ; but she never wrote harshly of hi and even when she could no longer approve his conduct she would dw on his past kindnesses. Somewhat similar in type, and even more clea drawn, is Julián de Ávila, for over forty years chaplain of St. Teres first convent—" a great servant of God ",[53] she writes, " one of the be priests in Ávila "[54]—who accompanied her on most of her early journe but, as he grew older, disturbed her by an excessive complacency whi led to a deterioration, at St. Joseph's, of standards of discipline. In this category, too, falls one of St. Teresa's earliest confessors, Gaspar Da who gave the habit to the first nuns of the Reform and was a favourite her best of all Bishops, Álvaro de Mendoza. Of a group of Jesuits, whom St. Teresa owed so much—including Diego de Acosta, Gaspar Salazar, Rodrigo Álvarez, Juan de Prádanos and Pablo Hernández the most clearly drawn is perhaps Baltasar Álvarez. Her spiritual direct even before her first foundation was made, he became her lifelong frien " the confessor who has done me the most good," she calls him[55] : " o of the best friends I have . . ., a saint[56] "

And what a galaxy of prelates the *Letters* give us ! To Rubeo, t Italian General of the Order, St. Teresa writes with such passion devotion and puts forth her plans with such persuasive eloquence th it is to be feared we envisage him as an unreasonable and hard-heart old man : the Spanish *History of the Reform*, however, gives a bet idea of his true character. The Spanish prelates with whom St. Tere

into contact stand out with amazing clarity. Quiroga, the Cardinal-bishop of Toledo, whose appointment delighted her, but who proved pectedly and consistently obstinate about the foundation of a convent adrid ; Rojas, Archbishop of Seville, who at first was better disposed ie Discalced friars than to the nuns, but was eventually won over t. Teresa's policy of combined deference and frankness ; Álvaro de doza, just referred to, Bishop successively of Ávila and Palencia, like his sister María and his brother Bernardino, was St. Teresa's ich friend ; Vela, Archbishop of Burgos, who, though at first highly pathetic with the Reform, eventually proved " wanting in courage "[57] had to be determinedly tackled by Don Álvaro before the Burgos dation could be made. More slightly, but most individually, portrayed Alonso Velázquez, Bishop of Osma (" a great servant of God, as you ind out from anyone[58]") ; Covarrubias, Bishop of Segovia and President e Royal Council, a staunch defender of the Reform against the Nuncio ; his less benevolently drawn successor, Pazos—*el Pausado*, a term h I hope it does not malign St. Teresa to render " Slowcoach ";[59] o de León, a Calced Carmelite appointed Bishop of Colibraso, who, Salazar, seems to have done his best to be fair to each of the contending es. Ormaneto and Sega, the two Nuncios, must be judged principally ieir actions, as must Jerónimo Reinoso, the kindly Canon of Palencia, a host of others. There, for want of space, but not for want of material, survey of the leading personalities in the world of St. Teresa close.

E. Allison Peers.

Notes.

LL. 282 (670).
LL. 349 (806-7). Italics mine.
Foundations, Chap. XXIV (*C.W.*, III, 122.)
LL. 72 (175).
LL. 346 (800).
LL. 74 (179).
LL. 366 (840)
LL. 147 (369).
LL. 134 (345).
LL. 253 (614).
LL. 256 (619).
LL. 283 (673).
LL. 81 (202).
LL. 282 (670).
Ibid.
LL. 204 (497).
LL., p. 18.
Spiritual Canticle, XII, § 6 (*Complete Works of St. John of the Cross*, London, Burns 1934–5, II, 72).

[20] LL. 10 (52–3).
[21] LL. 42 (113).
[22] LL. 43 (115).
[23] LL. 261 (625).
[24] LL. 224 (549).
[25] LL. 204 (496).
[26] LL. 81 (202).
[27] LL. 261 (625).
[28] LL. 163 (409).
[29] LL. 301 (703).
[30] LL. 300 (702).
[31] LL. 358 (830).
[32] LL. 261 (625).
[33] *Foundations*, Chap. XIV (*C.W.*, III, 65).
[34] LL. 144, 145. (363, 365).
[35] LL. 147 (372).
[36] *Foundations*, Chap. XIV (*C.W.*, III, 66).
[37] LL. 303 (710).
[38] LL. 204 (497).
[39] LL. 230 (562).
[40] LL. 146 (368).
[41] LL. 159 (398).
[42] LL. 79, 94, 111, 140, 164, 182, 207. Not to be confused with the much younger Discalced friar of that name, who was for some years the inseparable companion of St John of the Cross.
[43] LL. 76 (186–7).
[44] LL. 120 (307).
[45] LL. 121 (312). Letters 120 and 121 were written on the same day.
[46] LL. 354 (824).
[47] LL. 53 (135).
[48] LL. 53 (136).
[49] *Relations*, IV (*C.W.*, I. 322). Occasionally (*e.g.*, LL., p. 139) she gave him some good advice too.
[50] LL. 90 (218–9).
[51] LL. 126 (325-6).
[52] LL. 99, 108, 118, (253, 279, 302).
[53] *Foundations*, Chap. III (*C.W.*, III, 8).
[54] LL. 168 (427).
[55] *Life*, Chap. XXVI (*C. W.*, I. 167).
[56] LL. 315 (739).
[57] *C.W.*, III, 186.
[58] LL. 148 (374).
[59] LL. 253 (616).

IRISH DRESS AND IRISH PICTURES

BY G. A. HAYES-McCOY

the interval between the publication of Joseph Walker's essay on Irish costume in 1788 and the appearance of the first edition of Major . McClintock's *Old Irish and Highland Dress* in 1943[1] there is evidence uch speculation on the clothing worn by our ancestors, but unfortely of little genuine research. Walker made a praiseworthy effort construct from what information he could get a picture of the disive garments that went out of use in Ireland more than a century re his time, garments that merited the designation of a national garb. interpretation of the evidence regarding them has in the main stood test of time. But in the interval between his day and ours his work ars to have been lost sight of.

n the meantime occurred the flowering of what our greatest poet has d " romantic Ireland." Poets are the judges of romance, and to see ring remains of that particular phase of our history after such high rance that it is long since " dead and gone " is no doubt an imperice. Yet one wonders, to go no further than this matter of costume, t a great many of the present opinions on Irish dress may be if they are romantic ones. And they seem far too sturdy to be ghosts.

After Joseph Walker wrote, the romantics took over the stage. What ter Scott and Stewart of Garth did in interpreting the Highlands of land for their own and subsequent ages is a tale many times told. the whole host of artists and craftsmen whose efforts make up the ic revival, they did much good as well as some harm. Opinions tallize slowly. The finer points are apt to get lost in the dusty path rogress. But the effect of the school of Scott on the enquiring mind on reconstructing an Irish national costume and its result, still nt to the eye today, must surely be examples of suggestion and of disappearance of *all* the finer points that would be hard to parallel. Scott and after him—could the *imprimatur* be more profound?—en Victoria popularized the Highlands. One manifestation of the te was the rash of prints of the Landseer school that broke out on the our walls of our grandparents', or perhaps even our parents', homes ags that had drunk their fill, long horned cattle of the Trossachs. ther was a determination to regard the kilt as the garb of a noble race s, how propaganda leads fashion in its train, for a hundred years iously the kilted soldiers who had followed Prince Charlie to Derby

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[1] second enlarged edition, under the same title, has now been published by the publishers, the Dundalgan Press (W. Tempest) Ltd., Dundalk, price 37/6.

were thieves and barbarians !) The prints seem to have been scatter indiscriminately over Britain and Ireland, although here they may perha have been accorded the more honour. Some lingering memory of earlier unity, certainly something stronger than could have been invok by a vision of Victoria and Balmoral, must have accounted for their bei placed so respectfully beside the portraits of Robert Emmet on so ma Irish walls. But the kilt never won over the Saxon mind as it won t Irish one. In the matter of the kilt old associations were clearly appeal to. It was the distinctive garment of Scotland—but stay ! Scotland a Ireland had a common past, and if there was a Scottish kilt was the not also an Irish one ? A cursory examination of the few representatio of old Irish costume that were at hand seemed to bear this out.

What the medieval stone carver had intended to be the hem of padded garment showing beneath a coat of mail on an effigy became kilt. Pleated garments on a wall painting became kilts. The shirts th Derricke in the sixteenth century pictured and described as " not reach past the thigh " became kilts. Suggestion, bred of romanticism, a unaware of the fact that the Highland kilt is itself a garment of compar tively recent origin, led in the second half of the last century to the inventi of an Irish counterpart to the staple of the Highland garb. Enthusias for what soon became almost a symbol of nationalism waxed apace. this stage it would be as pedantic to say that our predecessors shou have known better as it would be uncharitable to poke fun at them. Th were no worse than sincere enthusiasts anxious to proclaim their natio ality. But the plain fact of the matter is that having provided themselv (and us) with a kilt they proceeded to embellish it by direct borrowi of the accessories of sporran, hose, jacket and so on from the Highland Only at the tartan have we stopped, and it approaches the pathetic th there are still people ready to believe that somewhere, just eluding di covery, there must be such a thing as an " Irish tartan."

That is, admittedly, a telescoped version of what happened. But t fact that prior to the end of the last century the only kilts worn in th country were Scottish ones and that the " Irish kilt " as we know it a fabrication pure and simple are indisputable. The credit for pointi this out belongs to Major McClintock.

Strangely enough, no storm of protest greeted his blowing up of wh to so many must have been the accepted theory on our national dre One likes to feel that this was due rather to the fact that he must be amo the mildest of exponents of a revolutionary view than to any lack enthusiasm for the subject of their romance among the romantics. Af all, the world must have slipped a great deal further than even our wo fears had seemed to indicate if a belief as widely accepted as that whi reposed in the Irish kilt—with all its accessories of sporran and hose a butcher's knife—can be shattered without a protest. Or is it that Ye

ight after all, and that what passes for romance is but a sorry change-
hat can strut in borrowed plumes and feel neither shame at exposure
desire to hit back at the exposer?

II

here is, of course, another possibility. It is now very many years
the late Professor MacNeill showed that there was never such a
as an Irish clan in the accepted, that is, the Scottish, sense of the
. The school of Scott provided here, too, the background of sugges-
against which a word, with a whole social system attached to it, was
rted into our midst. "Clans" have been banished from our more
te utterances, and the pages of latter day historians are as free of
ions of them as are the documents of the age when they were form-
supposed to flourish within our bounds. But, for all this, reminders
ot infrequent that the "Irish clan" dies slowly in the popular mind.
ort, the realization that what Major McClintock has written about
costume leaves no room for the Irish kilt and its accumulated
sories may not yet have percolated to the general reading public.
is is so, the publication of a second edition of his book is, on this
nd alone, something to be welcomed. If we have no historic right
ese garments the sooner we are rid of them the better, and that day
liverance can be hastened only by the widespread diffusion of know-
concerning their appearance amongst us.

n his first edition and again in this, where he piles further evidence
ar out the tale, Major McClintock relates the story of the garments
by the Irish from the medieval period to the middle of the seven-
n century. After that, anything that was distinctive about them
peared, save perhaps in some minor details of clothes worn in the
ry. He shows that a tunic or shirt, the *léine* of our literature, together
a mantle or cloak were worn as male attire from the earliest time of
n we have record to the late sixteenth century. In the second edition
tribution drawn from material gathered by Rev. Professor Shaw, S.J.,
the early literature adds greatly to the original case. One hopes
Professor Shaw will publish in full the results of his researches in
phere.

f the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the never abundant
nce on costume becomes less scanty, our author has more to say.
e the Irish who opposed the Tudors and who survived the downfall
nsale to live in unease until the downfall of the Confederation vested
: early period still in the tunic and mantle, but increasingly, as time
on, in the jacket, trews and mantle so familiar to the eyes of the
ethans. It must be a fillip to our national pride to realise that
ds the end of Elizabeth's reign, when the resistance of the Irish
ed strength and England had to use all her resources to maintain

her footing in this country, the dress of our ancestors was quite distinctive and in the fullest sense national. As well in outward showing as by tradition, language and outlook we were a distinct people.

In this, its final development, our national costume was an essentially practical attire. The enveloping mantle and the protective trews must have been almost ideally suited to our moist climate and rough countryside, and indeed there were many English supporters of Sir Henry Wallop's suggestion that the Queen's forces should be clothed in Irish garments, which were more workmanlike than their own. Native troops are the best judges of a practical fighting outfit best suited to conditions in their own terrain, and there are many instances of their enemies' having imitated them. British troops in the war of the American revolution tended to become like the backwoodsmen, khaki was borrowed from the Indian campaigns, both sides wore the slouch-hat in South Africa. The English serving officers in Ireland who besought their superiors in 1598 to substitute frieze stockings, brogues and mantles for the army cassocks, hose and shoes were thus voicing a recommendation that was to renew itself in one form or another in many armies, but they were also paying tribute to the practical worth of the Irish dress. And it was a comely attire. The skin tight trews, drawn, as Lynch says, " by one pull over the feet and thighs " and stretching from the waist to the instep, the short jacket ending in pleats at the waist, the mantle hanging from the shoulders, all must have combined to set off the wearer in a manner striking in an age when clothes had already become fussy and affected.

Major McClintock's book gathers together for this and the earlier periods a great mass of descriptive matter. Evidence from pictures, the accounts of contemporary writers and surviving examples of the actual garments now preserved in our National Museum is set out in detail, and in the number of its illustrations and the beauty of its format the book is a credit to its Irish printer. Apart from what one hopes may be its cautionary value as far as the kilt is concerned, it is a much needed account of a neglected aspect of our history, and it will be of permanent value.

It has one shining recommendation : that it is almost altogether free from the effects of the urge to theorise. We had gone so far on the path of pure theory that we could afford to forgive an author of a book on Irish costume almost anything if he stuck to facts and shunned speculation. It is in all humility, therefore, and thankfulness for what we have got that one points to places in the text on which further research may improve. Our author does not always go to the original source or the definitive text of the authorities whom he quotes. Thus for the Book of Kells he has apparently relied on *The Studio* reproduction of 1920, for Fynes Moryson on Litton Falkiner, for the colours in the " Map of the taking of the Earl of Ormonde " on a plate in Walker's essay.

One feels that the late medieval sources, if combed as Professor Shaw combed the earlier material, would yield more pickings. They relate a time when there are so few conspicuous guide posts that only by ing every little indication can a course be traced. While it is here, haps, that most work remains to be done, and although it is extremely ikely that later research will add a great deal to what has been written the costume of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one would to see the study rounded off by more patient work in the State Papers in the contemporary printed books, the main sources of information this time. Barnaby Rich, for example, has at least one costume refer-e ; and he is not the only contemporary who, by incidental mention, uld bring added testimony to the ubiquity of the mantle and trews his day.

Again, one is led to question some of the interpretations. Art Mac rrough in the celebrated drawing from the French metrical history Richard II is assuredly wearing a mail shirt and not " a large blue ment." His " two pieces of drapery " seem clearly to represent a mantle, the " scarlet tunic " which appears above his ankles is more like an on or haqueton than anything else. In fact, his attire closely resembles t described as worn by some of the worthies in the fourteenth century ount of the " Wars of Turlough," and the resemblance might have n recorded. The peculiar hat worn by the woman in one of Lucas Heere's drawings, and regarded as without parallel, might well have n compared with that shown in one of Derricke's plates. There is evidence that the individual said to be Owen Roe O'Neill, whose trait appears, is wearing a jacket. The grotesque heads shown on the ps in one of the Stuttgart procession prints of 1617 were quite usual tures on representations of the Irish harp at that time. But all of these small matters.

III

The different attitudes adopted by the Scots and Irish to the history their respective national costumes might well be likened to those which taken up in their national dances, or perhaps even more fittingly to difference between the national emblems of the thistle and shamrock. e thistle is prickly and suggests aggression and controversy. The mrock is a plant of mild and peaceful appearance. The Irish dancer ds his arms rigidly by his sides, but the Scot, scorning restraint, throws aloft. So have we been content for long to accept without question ill-digested theory of costume, while, across the Sea of Moyle, disputes dress and tartan were as frequent as theological controversies.

Thus—well though he has acquitted himself in both spheres—if jor McClintock is a pioneer investigator as far as Irish dress is con-

cerned his position is far otherwise in respect of the second part of his subject, that relating to the history of the Highland Scottish garb. " Touch me," says the Scottish motto, " gin ye daur," and that has long been the attitude of the numerous protagonists of opposing views on the origin of the Scottish kilt and on the " correct setts " of the tartans. In writing of Scottish dress our author has plunged into what a review of D. C. Stewart's recent monumental work, *The Setts of the Scottish Tartans*, referred to as " a subject which has always thrived on controversy." Admittedly, this part of his work will not make the same appeal to the Irish reader, and it was a happy thought to have separate editions of the Irish and Scottish sections made available. But even though we stand apart from the conflict over the origin of the philabeg (although we really shouldn't, since we were responsible for a later " origin " of the same garment ourselves), the history of the saffron shirt in Scotland should interest us. Lughaidh O'Clery is our authority for the statement, under date of 1594, that a body of Scots mercenaries who came to Ulster were distinguishable from the Irish soldiers by, among other things, the difference in their dress. They wore the belted plaid, the forerunner of the kilt or philabeg. Before this time, however, the leine or saffron shirt was worn as the ordinary garment in both Scotland and Ireland. We were as one then. If their desire was to commemorate our unity it was to that period that the revivalists of the last century should have turned. But perhaps that would have been too much, for a saffron shirt, however ample, is scarcely a garment for degenerate modern wear.

IV

Readers of this book must notice the regrettable dearth of pictures drawn by contemporary artists of Irish scenes. Contemporary pictures, naturally, are of the greatest possible assistance to the historian of costume. Garments have their natural end in rags and dust at no very remote period from their time of use ; the few specimens of Irish costume that we have were preserved—and discovered—quite by chance in our bogs. Written descriptions are seldom very satisfactory. Pictures, where they are to be had, are clearly invaluable : even an indifferent artist can record the appearance of objects better than the ordinary writer can describe them. And pictures have a greater value to the historian of costume in this than in most other countries, for here we have no representations in stained glass, no relevant brasses, and very few stone carvings.

Major McClintock has been indefatigable in seeking out pictures that might aid him, and the splendid series of illustrations in his book, besides making it a thing of beauty, must place historians as a body under a permanent debt of gratitude to him. And yet what has been the result of his search ? For the whole period of the eighth to the seventeenth century he has found only thirty-nine pictures. Of these, three are from the

k of Kells, three are from manuscripts of Giraldus Cambrensis, four by the Netherlands artist Lucas de Heere, six are from Derricke's *ge of Ireland*, six from Speede's Map of 1610, and four from a book lished in Tubingen in 1618. So we might say that the work of six ts, or groups of artists, accounts for twenty-six of the thirty-nine ures. This is a small body of pictorial work, but, with some minor ptions which are noted in the book, it is all that we know to exist, is there much likelihood that the number will be increased by dis-ries still to be made.

These facts have a far wider implication than the context in which are here mentioned might seem to indicate, for these may well be ribed as the *only* pictures that have survived to illustrate any aspect ur history for that long period. A few dozen pictures, reckoning the t trivial with the print or drawing of some detail, are all that have e down to us from dates earlier than three hundred or so years ago. ther words, without reckoning anything done since the middle of the century, there are far more drawings from life of North American ans in existence than there are of pre-seventeenth century Irishmen. The houses of the people in the countryside, the aspect of their fields, r methods of travelling and modes of conveyance, how they held kets, how they fished, hunted and felled trees, did smith's work and entry, these are things almost totally unrepresented for us by con-porary pictures. We may gain sketchy ideas of one or two of them n what Swift called the "savage pictures" with which, as he said, ographers fill their gaps," in this instance the small series of picture-s of the older Ireland that are extant, but that is all. Save, again, what these maps afford us, not one picture of the all but victorious ps of O'Neill and O'Donnell exists. Nor is there a picture of any of Owen Roe's army; nor anything—to descend later still—save one vo doubtful foreign prints to show us how our Jacobite army appeared ne eyes of those who beheld it. For more modern times the position ill unsatisfactory, and it is no exaggeration to say that, of the countries deemed worthy of the name of being civilized, we must be by far poorest in our stock of early pictures. It was, we know, a canon of e Eastern religions to avoid depicting the human form in art; one nt be excused for imagining that the Irish of past ages were subject like prohibition, more particularly since not one in ten of these pictures we have mentioned is the work of an Irishman.

We take ourselves to task from time to time because of the great ber of foreign publications that we import. But it might be good, n the intervals of our bewailing our folly in this regard, if we were ake a lesson from some of them. The art of book and magazine rating has never before been practised to such effect. Yet, save for rare exceptions as Major McClintock's book and Mr. James Carty's s that have appeared within the last few years, we have produced

no significant body of illustrations of Irish history. Few as our pictures are, we have made them seem fewer still by our failure to make reproductions of them available. Against the whole shelves full of well illustrated books of British history, French history, the history of the United States, we have next to nothing to place. And when one comes to the great mass of popular publications—the " fortnightly parts " that were so familiar a feature of our youth and that must have conveyed so much worthwhile instruction to so many—in this sphere for Ireland there is nothing at all.

It would almost seem that, being poor in historical pictures, we wished to conceal our poverty, whereas our plain duty should lie in the opposite direction. Clearly we should make the most of what we have. The requests that one is aware of for pictures to assist those charged with the organization of pageants, for pictures to aid in the design of theatre settings, above all for pictures for history lessons in schools indicate a great and growing demand for something that it is—alas—all too often difficult in the extreme to supply. Our schools are starved for want of pictures. Irish counterparts of the booklets of illustrations of their history that British children may buy for sixpence are unobtainable at any price. For want of pictures harrassed producers of pageants, beginning with a totally exaggerated idea of the quantity of reliable pictorial matter available must end by grubbing painfully in the little time at their disposal for such scraps as may come their way ; and what is built up in this way for a pageant in Donegal is utterly lost by the next year when the cry goes up for help for a pageant in Cork.

A hundred years ago Thomas Davis called for the painting by Irish artists of pictures to illustrate our history. The call has, in the meantime, been but poorly answered, so that to poverty in originals and poverty in available reproductions of them we must add a third poverty in modern delineation. There are events of the first importance in our history of which no pictures good, bad or indifferent, contemporary or later, are known to exist.

Some day such of these deficiencies as are capable of repair will be repaired. We cannot conjure up an eyewitness's sketches of the siege of Kinsale, any more than we can call back O'Neill and O'Donnell to describe it. But we can continue reproducing our originals, as Major McClintock and Mr. Carty have reproduced them, until good reproductions are widely available. And we can collect all the little pictures of ships and castles and huntsmen and battles that are hidden away in our old maps and such places and reproduce them. Better still, we can adapt them and supplement them with pictures of our old buildings, of weapons and tools and artistic metalwork, of carvings in wood and in stone, and publish them all in books that will reach every school. When that is done perhaps our artists will turn, as Davis wished they would, to lend their assistance to a reconstruction of the past.

G. A. HAYES-McCOY

THE PLATONIC DOCTRINE OF IDEAS

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T the beginning of the second act of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* the sentry on duty outside Westminister Palace assures us that every y and every girl that's born into this world alive, is either a little Liberal else a little Conservative. Alas for the prescience of sentries, for things ve changed considerably since then in the purlieus of Westminster ll. It was the German poet, Schiller, I think, who assured us equally t every man and woman is by temperament Platonist or Aristotelian. t too happy an antithesis, since Plato and Aristotle have so much in mmon, as one would expect, remembering that the latter was pupil to former during nineteen years; and both are in the full stream of t tradition of Greek thinking which is so different in its approach to twin problems of reality and of knowledge from most of the schools of ilosophy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, there is ense in which Platonists can be differentiated from Aristotelians. And David Ross, author of a recent and valuable work on Platonic Philo-phy, would rank decidedly among the Aristotelians.[1]

He is, in the first place, an Aristotelian scholar of rare experience and stinction, whose editions of the *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and the *Prior and sterior Analysis* have become classical works. Half of this volume on Platonic Ideas is Plato seen through the eyes of Aristotle. In other rds, it is an attempt to piece together the later developments of Platonic ching from the statements which Aristotle and others have made about em. And here, to my mind, lies the major value of the book. For the dinary student of Plato or of Greek philosophy who comes to Plato rough his written dialogues there is something mysterious, uncertain d contradictory about these supposed variants upon the written doctrines, we find them set down or hinted at in subsequent writers.

The problem is complicated by the fact that Aristotle is by no means objective or unprejudiced commentator. His tendency is both to erpret previous philosophy in terms of his own teaching as a groping wards the system he has perfected and at the same time to accentuate divergencies between Plato and himself. Sir David Ross admits the fects of Aristotle's criticism, and states that " there is much in Aristotle's atment of Platonic doctrine that is purely captious "[2]. But, on the ner hand, he entirely dissociates himself from the opinions of Professor

[1] *Plato's Theory of Ideas*. By Sir David Ross. Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 250.

[2] Op. cit. p. 233.

Cherniss, who dismisses these later developments of Platonic teaching and argues that everything which Aristotle says concerning Plato and which cannot be verified from the written dialogues should be neglected and regarded as due to the misunderstandings of Aristotle.[1]

On this judgment Sir David writes as follows :

" The strongest point in Professor Cherniss's argument is one which he has effectively made—that what Aristotle says about Plato often betrays misunderstandings which a few well-chosen questions to Plato would have removed. Aristotle was not the pure blunderer that Professor Cherniss makes him out to have been, but it must be admitted that he was too ready to adopt interpretations of Plato either because they fitted in with his own preconceptions, or because they gave him an opportunity of criticism. His long criticism in Books M and N of the *Metaphysics*, in particular, contains far too many instances of both these faults, and Professor Cherniss has exposed many of them with great skill. But I do not think for a moment that he has established his case that all that Aristotle says about Plato that cannot be verified from the dialogues is pure misunderstanding or misrepresentation "[2].

That is to state the situation very fairly.

At the earlier end of the Platonic problem, the author rejects completely the theories of Professors John Burnet and A. E. Taylor. These distinguished professors at Scottish universities argued that the Socrates presented in the Platonic dialogues ought to be accepted as the *historic* Socrates, and consequently the doctrines put forward by him and the views expressed should be attributed to the historic Socrates and not, as in the widely prevalent opinion, to Plato. The traditional opinion is that Plato made use of Socrates as the central figure in the earlier and middle dialogues out of reverence for the memory of Socrates but that the doctrines enuntiated by the Socrates of the dialogues were Platonic and not Socratic. No doubt, the discussions in the first works like the *Laches*, the *Euthyphro*, *Meno* and the *Hippias Major* were very similar to conversations in which the historic Socrates had actually taken part. But the traditional view has to walk warily. The *Euthyphro* includes the terms εἶδος and ἰδέα in the special Platonic sense, for instance in the following passage :

> " Do you remember that I did not ask you to give me one or two examples of piety, but to explain that very Form (εἶδος), which *makes all pious things to be pious*? Do you not remember that you said there was one Form (ἰδέα) which made impious acts impious, and pious acts pious? Tell me, then, what is the nature of this Form (ἰδέα), so that by looking to it and using it as a pattern I may say that any act done by you that has such a character is pious, and any act that has it not is impious ".[3]

[1] *The Riddle of the Early Academy*. By H. Cherniss. 1945. Pp. 72. Sqq.
[2] Op. cit. p. 143.
[3] *Euthryphro*, 6.d.9.—e.6.

The *Hippias Major* introduces another typically Platonic expression, ely that of *αὐτὸ τὸ* for the Idea. " Tell me," says Socrates, to Hippias, hat the beautiful itself (*αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν*) is ? "[1]

Sir David Ross has taken his stand upon the explicit declaration of stotle that Socrates did not hold the theory of Ideas but was interested ely in the problem of definitions. In all probability, that is the correct rpretation. But I feel that the views of Burnet and Taylor about t they entitle " the Socratic problem " are so ingenious and have n argued so admirably that more attention might have been given to n in this volume, were it only for a fuller and more detailed refutation.

To the lay mind, the Platonist is a man with something of the poet, st and visionary in his composition ; a man who seeks and discovers ature traces of divinity and who soars aloft in contemplation of those nal realities which mirror themselves in this sublunary world. He is an who searches upwards for that " still white radiance of eternity ", has been refracted through life's " dome of many-coloured glass " the myriad changing uncertain hues of man's experience here below. this sense, specially Platonic are many passages from the *Phaedo*, *edrus* and the *Symposium*, and the similes of the Sun and the Cave n the sixth and seventh books of the *Republic*. There the Platonic as appear as " the genuine reality that is without colour or figure or n, and may not be touched, and that is seen only through Reason, steersman of man's soul "[2], and in that realm supernal the soul, before it be incarnated into body, " beholds the Ideas, sees Justice in itself, nperance itself, Knowledge itself, not the knowledge that comes into sient existence or is concerned with the many shadows of Reality knowledge real and substantial of the Reality that abides ".[3]

Or, to quote this time from Plotinus, the Platonist, rather than from o, the master :

" We must ascend towards the Good, the desired of every soul. ven the desire of it is to be desired as a good. To attain it is for those at will take the upward path, who will set all their forces towards , who will divest themselves of all that we have put on in our descent . . . until, passing on the upward way, all that is other than the God, ch in the solitude of himself shall behold that solitary-dwelling exist- nce, the Apart, the Unmingled, the Pure, that from which all things epend, for which all look and live and act and know, the Source of ife and Being . . . . It is for this that the sternest and the uttermost mbat is set before the soul : all our labour is for this, lest we be left ithout part in this noblest vision, which to fail of is to fail utterly.

[1] *Hippias Major*, 296.d.8.
[2] *Republic*, 508. c. I.
[3] *Phaedrus*, 247. c. 3.—e. 2

> For not he that has failed of the joy that is in colour or in visible forms, not he that has failed of power or of honours or of kingdom has failed, but only he that has failed of only this, for whose winning he should renounce kingdom and command over earth and ocean and sky, if only, spurning the world of sense from beneath his feet and straining to this, he may see ".[1]

Sir David Ross, however, keeps his two feet firmly planted in Aristotelian manner on Mother Earth and essays no flights into the empyrean. Indeed, his good sense would no doubt remind us that too frequently we have been led astray by the sheer beauty and subtlety of the Platonic writings and have regarded their author too exclusively as a supreme literary artist—this he most certainly was—and have consequently forgotten that he was every bit as scientific, in general spirit if not always in actual methods, as was Aristotle. Plato's problems were scientific problems and he became increasingly a mathematician rather than a mystic.

Following the Aristotelian account,[2] he declares that Plato derived the doctrine of Ideas from a double source : in the first place, by reaction from the Heraclitean teaching of Cratylus, which denied all stability to the objects of sense experience and saw no reality save in this continuous process of instability ; and secondly, from Socrates, through a continuation of his notion of the general concept.

The question has, I think, to be taken further back, as far back as the first beginnings of Greek thinking. What, it must be asked, was the original question of Greek philosophy ? Was it, as the current textbooks assume, merely the query as to what was or is the original *Urstoff* of the universe, that primal material out of which everything has emerged ? I think not. These early thinkers had made, as yet, no distinction between the material element and other elements. They were arguing backwards, backwards from the phenomena of day-to-day experience. These phenomena seemed to them to be precisely *Φαινόμενα*—that is, things which appeared only to disappear, that showed themselves for a short spell only then to withdraw, and even during the brief period of their appearance they were so unstable, always altering, changing from one form to another, from mood to mood, aspect to further aspect. Could this be Reality, they asked themselves ? Or must there not be something more substantial, more permanent behind these *Φαινόμενα*, out of which they emerged and into which they merged again, something that was at once their background and their cause ? The first answers that expressed the character of this background were halting enough and couched in terms of elements of Nature—water, as with Thales, or air, with Anaximenes, or—already a more pregnant notion—the *ἄπειρον* or Indeterminate of Anaximander.

[1] Plotinus, *Enneads*, I. vi. 7. (Translation, Stephen MacKenna, Vol. 1, pp. 85-7).
[2] *Methaphysics*, A. 987. a. 29-b. 14 ; also M. 1078. b. 9-32.

Gradually, the fundamental antithesis of Greek philosophy asserted elf. Behind what appears and disappears, behind *τὰ Φαινόμενα* there ıst exist, and consequently there does exist, a region of *Οὔσια* or *τὰ ὄντα* : realities which in the truest sense have existence and being. Appear- ce is seen accordingly against the background of Reality. This antithesis ıgain expressed in a slightly different manner, as that between *τὰ γιγνόμενα* what comes into existence in this world and later declines and perishes, it changes into some other thing, and once more this abiding background stability and endurance.

For Plato the world of sense experience was the realm of *τὰ Φαινόμενα*. nse objects were in a condition of restlessness and change. They were t, could not in fact be, properly *real* ; nor could they be in any sense jects of genuine knowledge. Thus he accepted the Heraclitean contention at the universe, at any rate, was in a state of flow and flux, and that key to the problem of knowledge could be discovered there. On the ıer hand, Socrates had taken the dictum of Protagoras that " Man is measure of all things "—which Protagoras interpreted after the fashion relativity—and showed that a different interpretation of the maxim uld provide a foundation for true knowledge. Man, as sentient creature, ın aware of the particular objects of sense experience, could attain to knowledge. That was what Protagoras had meant, and that was obvious ough. But—continued Socrates—man, endowed with mind or *νοῦς*, ın, able by means of mind to rise superior to the this and that, to the re and there, to the now and then, could reach beyond what was in- vidual and particular to the universal notes and qualities of things and come into contact through genuine knowledge with what was permanent d therefore real in them. There was accordingly, for Socrates, within objects of sense experience a permanent element which could be operly known. This was the *universal*, the *concept*.

Here we must recall a certain parallelism in Greek thinking that lies the root of the Ideal Theory. Plato certainly accepted an equivalence tween the *reality* and the *knowledgibility* of a thing. *Τὸ ὂν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιστητον*. thing ranks in the order of knowledge as it ranks in the order of reality. ıe more real it is, so much more is it an object of knowledge. Now, a certain extent, this is true. For the Christian, God is the Highest ality ; at the same time, He is the Supreme Object of knowledge, as as His own intelligence is in question. So far as human experience es, the objects of knowledge are not the most real things in the scale concrete existence. What we *know* are primarliy the *universals* ; but ıat exist concretely are individual things, and they become objects of owledge only through universal concepts.

For Plato, however, the terms of knowledge were at once the most l objects. In other words, what we hold as concepts, were hypostatized d made really existent, made in fact the only genuinely real entities.

They are, at one and the same time, the supreme terms which alone make knowledge possible and the sources from which all lesser reality derives. Consequently, through these Ideas both problems are resolved for Plato: that of reality and that of knowledge. From the side of knowledge, the Ideas are (1) the essences of things, and Aristotle insisted that in Plato's view there existed an Idea or Ideal Form for every natural kind ; (2) that which is most characteristic of each kind or class, the *αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό*; (3) the element of unity in multiplicity.

From the side of Being, the Ideas are (1) free from every attribute of sense, invisible, intangible, incorporeal; (2) simple, unmixed and without parts ; (3) eternal and immutable ; (4) in fine, taken together, they constitute the highest realm of Being and Reality, and whatever reality may exist outside of this Ideal realm, derives from it.

That is the initial outline of the Ideal Theory. Plato, to explain reality and knowledge, has posited this higher region of abiding Forms or Ideas. They are supremely real and the supreme objects of knowledge.[1]

There are many supplementary questions into which it is not possible here to enter. Among them, that of the relations between these Ideas. In the *Republic* we discover that they are arranged in hierarchical order, rising to one supreme Idea at the apex of the hierarchy, that of the Good. To this the other Ideas ascend in increasing breadth and dignity ; towards it, as their final goal, they all aspire ; from it they again descend. In the *Sophistes* another principle of relationship or *κοινωνία γενῶν* is introduced with the three Forms, that run throughout the Ideal Realm and make possible proper relations between the Ideas—namely the Forms of Being, Sameness or Self-Identity and Difference, Forms which assume a growing importance in the latest dialogues. Finally, in the oral teaching of the Academy as preserved in many passages of Aristotle, the emphasis is placed upon the One, the principle of unity, and no longer on the Form of the Good. Here, it is not difficult to detect a transition from the earlier Platonism, dominated by the form of the Ideal Theory as outlined in the *Republic*, and the later Platonism of Plotinus, for whom the supreme principle is that of Unity, the One, transcending entirely the region of Reality and of Knowledge, which can be ' known ', if the term be tolerated, only through some mystical experience of vision or actual contact. Sir David Ross does not treat of this transition (it is scarcely his subject in this book) nor does he offer on this matter any hints or suggestions.

[1] It must be made perfectly clear that the term ' Idea ' is used in this article in the true Platonic sense. The Ideas were never considered by Plato as " ideas " in the mind, whether of man or of some superior deity. The point is raised once in the *Parmenides* and dismissed as untenable by both Parmenides and Socrates. The Marburg school of Cohen and Natorp which put forward this subjective interpretation was suggesting what it would have liked Plato to have said, not what Plato did say. The *objective* character of the Forms or Ideas is patent throughout. Nor does it help much to introduce the more subtle suggestion of Lotze that the *objective* quality Plato gave to the Ideas was that of *Geltung* or eternal validity rather than actual existence. The parallel between *τὸ ἐπιστητόν* and *τὸ ὄν* rules out this distinction. The value or validity of objects like the degree of knowledge that belongs to them comes from their measure of reality.

A further problem is that of the Soul. In the *Phaedo*, where the soul's nortality is the central theme and the discussion takes place supposedly the day of the death of Socrates, the main argument for immortality dduced from the existence of the Ideas. In the *Phaedrus* the question knowledge is linked with *Anamnesis* and the vision which the soul l of the Ideas before its incarnation or reincarnation with body. Know-ge is described as a process of *ἀνάμνησις*, by which, through sense perience, the soul remembers, is reminded of, the Ideas glimpsed prior incarnation. Knowledge is therefore a process of remembrance or all. The foundation of knowledge is a previous vision of the Ideas.

II.

The earlier works of Plato were concerned with the establishment of s realm of eternal, immutable Ideas, the loftiest expressions of Reality l supreme objects of knowledge. Over against them are the objects sense perception. These are unreal[1] and they cannot, properly speaking, known at all. However, this absolute distinction between *τὰ ὄντα* l *τὰ μὴ ὄντα* soon breaks down. The objects of sense experience quire a status of their own and accordingly a measure, albeit slender, reality. In the first place, they are the meeting ground of the Ideas ich are manifested in them by a double process spoken of by Plato as *ἔξις* (participation) and *μίμησις* (imitation). Phenomena *participate* in Ideas, or the Ideas are reflected, mirrored, in phenomena.[2] Phenomena thus regarded no longer as mere Non-Being or *τὰ μὴ ὄντα*; they eive an intermediary condition; they are now *τὰ μεταξύ*, what stands dway between true Being and Non-Being; they enjoy a quasi-reality, ived and imitated from genuine Reality.

In the second place, they play their part in the development of human owledge. Sense perception is the occasion of such knowledge. The il, aware of this or that particular object of sense and of this or the

[1] This does not mean that Plato denied the objective existence of such objects, as s modern Idealism. What he denied to them was any share in genuine Being.

[2] In the earliest dialogues the expression *μέθεξις*, is more usual. Gradually *μίμησις* eps in and supplants *μέθεξις*. But, as both terms are little more than metaphors, oubt whether it be possible to build a thought transition on them, as does the author. change of expression he interprets as an advance from the 'immanent' conception Ideas as universals within particulars to a 'transcendent' conception of them as ologically separate. He argues further that the expression *μίμησις* implies that nomena are very imperfect copies of their Ideal originals. But this they always were, he language of participation as well as reflection. On page 231 he speaks more guardedly: he only conclusion possible seems to be that ,while he (Plato) was not quite satisfied n either expression, he saw no way of getting nearer to the truth than by using both, one stressing the intimacy of the link between a universal and its particulars, the er stressing the failure of every particular to be a perfect exemplification of any universal. may even have had an inkling of the fact that the relation is completely unique and efinable. Both 'sharing' and 'imitating' are metaphors for it, and the use of two nplementary metaphors is better than the sole use of either".

other sense quality or property, is vividly reminded of the Idea or property or quality which it has glimpsed above prior to its union with its present body. Sense objects, while they are not objects of knowledge nor even properly causes of knowledge, are none the less its occasion and its stimulus.

This increasing significance attached to objects of sense experience changes the whole direction of Plato's thinking in the later works. The problem is no more that of the Ideal world. That world stands firm and fast. It is the question how the two worlds can be related to one another, the realm of Ideas and the world of sense experience. How can eternity be related to time, and permanence to ceaseless change, how can truth be associated with shadows? The interest descends from the higher to the lower world, which now is in the forefront of Plato's preoccupations. What is the origin of this lower world? And what its significance? This is now his major question.

Aristotle grants that Plato had recognized two of the four causes of the Aristotelian philosophy—the material and the formal—but he censures Plato for having ignored the efficient and final causes.[1]

But no one would seriously question the presence of finality and teleology in Platonic thought. In the middle period the Idea of the Good stands supreme above all as the goal of all straining and desire, as the highest final cause. The weakness of the Ideal theory, in this period, lay in the defect of an efficient principle. The Idea of the Good was both exemplar and final cause. It was never, save in metaphor, an efficient cause. Indeed, one inevitable consequence of the Ideal theory, which placed all reality in a hierarchy of static, immutable, eternal Forms, was to exclude movement and activity altogether. You were compelled either to do as the Eleatic school had done, reject the reality of motion and treat it as mere illusion or find some effective principle of movement outside the Ideal world.

In his later dialogues Plato adopted increasingly this second alternative. And the new principle of activity to the side of the Ideal realm or, better perhaps, intermediate between the Ideal world and the world of sense, was Soul. Soul as a principle and individual souls are not included in the region of Ideas, and so in effect that region does not include all reality within itself. This is the chief reason why we cannot identify, as scholars have at times done, the Idea of the Good with God. Most of the elements of a sound Natural Theology can be discovered in the Platonic writings

[1] Here Sir David Ross breaks a lance for Plato. He argues, to begin with, that Aristotle is wrong in identifying the Platonic χώρα or space in the *Timaeus* with matter. Space, for Plato, is no material cause; it is merely the *where*, that *in which* things come into being, not that *out of which* they are composed. Aristotle, declares the author, "had not read his *Timaeus* very carefully" (p. 221). And he adds (p. 235): "While the ideas remain his (Plato's) central theme, the twin thoughts of a divine source of change and a good to which he directs it are always present in the background of Plato's thought, and find growing expression in his dialogues".

nowhere are they coherently pieced together to give us a full Platonic cept. As Supreme Exemplar and Final Cause, God could and should dentified with the Idea of the Good. But that highest Idea is barren ctivity. So far as efficient causality is in question, this would needed e supplied from the order of souls, and God might be identified with highest and noblest soul.

Even in earlier works Plato was puzzled about soul and souls. Where he to place them? They obviously did not pertain to the world of se, nor, with their movement, could they be included in the Ideal m. Yet, they have an intrinsic worth and dignity. In the *Phaedo* declared that soul had kinship with the Ideas. " The soul is most the divine, immortal, intelligible, uniform, indissoluble and unchange- "[1]. The soul has true Being, we read in the *Sophistes*, no less than Ideas.[2] The soul comes to be looked upon as the principle of motion. The introduction of efficient principles from outside the realm of as in order to provide some account of this sublunary world is most lent in the *Timaeus*. Timaeus starts by insisting that the world of se, because it is in the order of sense, must have had an origin, and for this origin some definite causal agent was demanded. The δημιουργός Creator ' is now introduced. The 'Creator ' needed a pattern or model his operations and where could this be found except in the highest tern of all Being, namely the realm of Ideas? The Ideal world is there- the 'Creator's ' model and the *causa exemplaris* of the universe.

The 'Creator ' is urged to action because of his natural and inherent dness, which desires to communicate itself and express itself in other gs. *Bonum est diffusivum sui*—this is a Platonic axiom. The 'Creator ' g *good*, wished that everything should be as like as possible to himself. took over all that was visible—" not at rest, but in discordant and rdered motion—and brought it from disorder into order ". And, e what is intelligent is better than what lacks intelligence, and since intelligence cannot be present save in soul, he " fashioned reason in soul, and soul within body ". The world, therefore, is a living anism, in which dwells a World Soul, controlling and organizing its vities and relations. It is modelled upon the ἀυτὸ τὸ ἐστὶ ζῶον, the a of living Being, from the world of Forms, an Idea that comprises in its compass the Ideas of all specific natural things.[3]

[1] 80. a. 10-b. 5. [2] 248. e. 6.—249. b. 4.

[3] The notion of *creation* in the Christian sense, that is of *creatio ex nihilo*, is practically nown in Greek thought. In the Timaeus the δημιουργός puts into order elements are already to hand. Strictly speaking, he orders, and does not create. There was spute as to Plato's meaning in the *Timaeus*. Aristotle declared that Plato thought e world as generated and rejected the opinion as wrong. Other members of the Academy all the Neo-Platonists stated that Plato had been speaking not literally but διδασκαλίας , for the sake of convenience. Plato, they urged, had not spoken of any pre-existence me of the discordant matter which the δημιουργός ordered into harmonious form. o declares explicitly that the world and time started together.

In the second half of the *Timaeus* a further line of relationship appears. The world is a *compositum*, proceeding from the joint operation or, better, the action and reaction between Mind, on the one side, and *ἀνάγκη* or Necessity, on the other. *Ανάγκη* is a curious *slant* or *kink* in things—a *πλανομένη αἰτια* Plato terms it, thinking probably of the movements of planets. It is not in itself a principle of things but rather hints at that element of limit or potency beyond which the action of Mind cannot penetrate. It is that element which lingers throughout Greek philosophy and lurks beneath, delimiting the power of Mind, whether it be envisaged as the *materia prima* of Aristotle or the *χώρα* or *ὑποδοχή* of Plato.

This *ὑποδοχή* is brought into the *Timaeus* as a receptacle or ground in which ' intermediates ', that are copies of the Ideas, enter as agents for the formation of the world. The world is fashioned in this *ὑποδοχή*. The efficient causal action proceeds from outside, and the agents of that action are these ' intermediates ', which may require to be identified with mathematical or geometrical ratios and proportions, elsewhere referred to as *τὰμαθηματικά*.

That is, in rough outline, the most detailed solution which Plato provides for us in answer to this problem of the world, its origin and its significance—to the problem, in other words, that preoccupied his later writings. " These, then, according to the Timaeus," writes Sir David Ross, " are the primeval realities—the world of Forms, space, random events in space and the Demiourgos, who made the world to be as it is by moulding the random events into an image, as like as he could make it, of the eternal Forms. This general account Plato holds to be true, and the details that follow are as like the truth as he can make them ".[1]

There is no need to emphasize the importance of these new elements gradually brought into Platonic thought in the later writings. They are to play a fundamental part in later Platonism, when the World Soul becomes the *πνεῦμα* or Spirit, the third partner in the Neo-Platonic trinity in the divine *πληρῶμα* or at least one aspect of that *πνεῦμα*, and the *δημιουργός* is joined with *λόγος* to become a second partner in that same *πληρῶμα*. But of these developments the author does not treat. They are beyond the scope of his volume and of this article.

III.

The main problem of the earlier books was to establish the world of Ideal Forms. Of the second period, represented by the later dialogues, it was the giving of a basis to this world of sense experience. Was there a third period, of which we know nothing from the written works, and for information concerning which one has to fall back upon Aristotle and the

[1] Op. cit. p. 128.

asts? This question must be answered affirmatively. There are
l passages of Aristotle, in which he refers to sources outside the
ues. There exist references too in Aristoxenus, Simplicius and
nder of Aphrodisias. " We have evidence," writes Sir David Ross,
d in quality though not very great in bulk, that Aristotle had access
to unwritten teachings of Plato and to a collection of ' divisions '
o be found in the dialogues but either written down by Plato or
probably compiled from his unwritten teaching ; and that one part
s teaching, the lectures on the Good, was occupied precisely with
later developments of the Ideal theory with which Aristotle acquaints
Books A, M and N of the Metaphysics ".[1]

ne second half of Ross's work is concerned with these later variants
tonic teaching and, as I have already suggested, this is by far the
valuable portion of the book. The author has studied the texts and
nces in some detail, has decided how far they must be accepted and
at manner interpreted, and as a result he produces a coherent outline
at will always remain a difficult subject.

iefly, he maintains that Plato grew more deeply interested in mathe-
s and that it was here, and not earlier in his life—as Taylor and Burnet
ained—that he felt the influence of the Pythagoreans. According
istotle, Plato now considered the Ideas as *Numbers* and thought of
ements of the Ideas as being the elements of all things—which may
nean that he imagined there must be an ordered duly proportioned
ure at the basis of the world. Aristotle added that the elements
Ideas in later Platonism were the One and a second indeterminate
nt, called " the great and small ".

is takes us back to a discussion in Plato's dialogue, the *Philebus*,
existent things are divided into four classes: the unlimited *ἄπειρον*,
or limit, mixed objects, made up of the unlimited and limit, and
, *αἰτίαι* or causal agents. The unlimited is what is capable of deter-
ion in either direction, up and down, more or less. Limit is what
s or determines it. Plato appears ultimately to have considered
two factors as operative even within the Ideas themselves. The
continues Aristotle in the same passage[2], are the formal causes of
le things, and the highest Idea—now the One—is the formal cause
Ideas ; the material cause both of the Ideas and of sensible things
' dyad ' or the indefinite element of the " great and small ". Finally,
rmal cause (that is, the One) is the origin of all good, the material
the ' dyad ' is the cause of all the evil in the world. Here there
the dualism, which is prominent in later Pythagoreanism and in
of the later Platonism, which associates good with Form and Mind,
il with Matter.

. cit. p. 149.
etaphysics, 987. b. 14—988 a. 15.

That the Plato of eloquence and splendid imagery, as we know hi from the *Phaedo*, the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, should at the same tin be so ardent a student and lover of mathematics may appear a puzz but it is no contradiction. Plato's attitude towards mathematics was logical one. The main trend of the earlier dialogues is a flight from sen experience, the ascent from particular experience to wider comprehensio In the *Republic*, Plato, the supreme literary artist, is very severe to fello artists and poets ; he rates the fine arts lower than the utilitarian craft and all poets other than the pure ' didacts ' he would expel from the wel organized city State. Knowledge supposes that a man can de-materiali his mental processes, can free them from the need for instances an images, can concentrate upon reasoning, first, as in mathematics with th assistance of designs, formulae and hypotheses, and ultimately, in pur philosophy, without any of these aids. Thought for Plato involved process of *abstraction*, of detachment from this world, and all its bra show of colour and form and the restless puppet show of sense experienc For this mathematics was the ideal discipline, and because of the pow it had to detach men's minds it is made in the Republic the propaideuti to true Philosophy.

Later the purity of abstraction to be found in mathematics grew its attraction for Plato's mind. The emphasis is shifted within the Ide world from the Good, the supreme principle of form and the final cause to the One, principle of unity. And this One appears to have entered int each and all of the remaining Ideas as its constitutive principle.

In addition to this close association between Ideas and Numbers i the latest phase of the Ideal theory, Plato also introduced other and spatia entities, to which Aristotle has reference in three passages under the titl of " things after the Numbers ".[1] He speaks of " the lines, planes an solids which come after the numbers ". It would seem that, once Plat recognized a class of Ideas to be numbers or at least associated wit numbers, he had also to recognize a lower group of Ideas, connected wit geometry, and including in their essence a reference to spatial extension

The work under review is very welcome. It is serious, scholarly an reflective. If it has no novel interpretations to put forward, it provide at least a clear analysis of Platonic teaching and a balanced appreciatio of its development.

JOHN MURRAY

[1] *Metaphysics*, 992. b. 13-18 ; 1080 b. 23-8 ; 1085 a. 7-9.

EVER MAC MAHON

SOLDIER BISHOP OF THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

BY SÉAMUS P. MOORE, M.A.

R some four hundred years before the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale
ınd the consequent Plantation of Ulster had destroyed the power of
Gaelic chieftains of the North, the Mac Mahon family had been
stic rulers in that part of the territory of Oirghialla which, with
exception of the Barony of Truagh, is represented today by
County of Monaghan. Although the political power of the
Mahons thus passed away in the early seventeenth century, the
continued to give notable leaders to the Irish people in the days of
cution and strife that followed, particularly in the sphere of religion.
ne Matthews (recte Mac Mahon), Archbishop of Dublin in the first
er of the seventeenth century, was a son of the noted Ever Mac Cooley
Mahon, whose Machiavellian tactics during the Nine Years War
dictated largely by the dangerous proximity of his territory to the
Later on Hugh Mac Mahon was Bishop of Clogher from 1707
1713, when he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh.
vas a learned and zealous churchman, and the publication of his
Jus Primatiale Armacanium was a decisive factor in the dispute
the Irish Primacy. He died in 1737. Hugh was succeeded as
bishop of Armagh by his nephew Bernard Mac Mahon, who had
Bishop of Clogher from 1727 to 1737. Bernard was succeeded in
her by his brother Ross, who was Bishop of Clogher from 1737 to
. On Bernard's death in 1747 Ross succeeded him as Archbishop
rmagh, but held this position for little more than a year (August
to October 1748).[1] This must surely constitute a record for any
family. However, perhaps the best known and certainly the most
ırful member of the Mac Mahon family was Ever Mac Mahon, the
er Bishop of the Confederation of Kilkenny. In his life he was a
n centre of political controversy, and since then historians have
red widely in their estimates of his ability and achievements. Certainly
career is one that would be difficult to parallel even in the stormy
ls of seventeenth century Ireland.

Ever Mac Mahon was born in the year 1600. We cannot as yet say
certain where in Oirghialla he was born nor who his parents were.
temporary historians state that he was born of noble parents.[2] In
papers relating to his appointment to the see of Down and Connor in
it is stated that he was born in " terra Fiernia ", the territory of
ey in South Monaghan.[3] Meehan says he was born in Monaghan

D. C. Rushe : *History of the County of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years* (1921),
9–51.
Commentarius Rinuccinianus IV, p. 398. Henceforth it will be cited in these notes
y as *Comm.*
M. Brady : *Episcopal Succession in Ireland* (1876) I, p. 255.

and was son of Turlough Mac Mahon and Eva O'Neill.[1] Shirley says he was son of Turlough or Toole Mac Mahon, apparently equating these two different names. He further states that his father was a brother of Sir Patrick Mac Art Moyle Mac Mahon who was chief of the clan in the district north of Monaghan town around 1600.[2] The family of Art Moyle lived in the present parish of Tedavnet. Perhaps Ever's father was a younger son of Art Moyle Mac Mahon, and had migrated to South Monaghan where Ever was born. Photostat copies of the documents in the British Museum on which Shirley bases many of his Mac Mahon pedigrees have failed to throw any additional light on the subject.[3] The whole question is further complicated by a reference in a deposition made by Elizabeth Clarke after the Rising of 1641 in which he is referred to as Ever Mac Loughlin Mac Mahon.[4] For the present therefore all we can say with certainty, relying on the statement made in the Vatican papers, is that he was born of noble parents in Farney within the present county of Monaghan in 1600.

Our knowledge of his upbringing is equally vague and uncertain. Meehan, who gives no authorities, states that his father left Oirghialla for Donegal, and that the future Bishop received his early education from a Franciscan friar in the vicinity of Killybegs.[5] This is most unlikely and I have not succeeded in finding any documentary confirmation. We know, however, that the Franciscan friars of Monaghan town were driven out of their convent early in the seventeenth century, and its stones were used to build a fine new dwelling for Sir Edward Blayney. Speaking of that convent around 1617 Friar Mooney says : " et nunc non manet lapis super lapidem in eo."[6] We know also that a community of friars existed later in the century near Castleblayney and that they ministered in the neighbouring parishes of Aughnamullen and Donaghmoyne.[7] In Donaghmoyne, in the barony of Farney, there is a townland called Kiltybegs. Could this have given rise to the statement made by Father Meehan, and could Killybegs have been a mistake for Kiltybegs? In all the contemporary references to Ever we find no mention of any family connection with Donegal. I think we can take it then that he was brought up in South Monaghan and was probably educated by some of the scattered Franciscan community of Monaghan who found refuge there.

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[1] C. P. Meehan : *The Franciscan Monasteries and the Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century* (fourth ed., 1872), p. 235.

[2] E. P. Shirley : *The History of the County of Monaghan* (1879), p. 202.

[3] These are Harl. MS. 1425, ff. 192, 193 ; Add. MS. 4820, pp. 7, 10, 19.

[4] Hamilton : *The Irish Rebellion of* 1641, p. 200. I am indebted to Rev. Canice Mooney O.F.M., for drawing my attention to this deposition.

[5] Meehan, op. cit., p. 235.

[6] Printed in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 6 (1934), p. 36.

[7] Rushe, op. cit., pp. 48–9.

lthough the territory of Oirghialla had not suffered a formal plantation r James I, many estates were given to English settlers there and ld Gaelic order was completely overthrown. Pressure was gradually g brought on the clansmen to sell their holdings to the new settlers, were building homes in the valleys and along the gentle slopes of little hills ". Between 1609 and 1621, for example, an Englishman ed John Burnett obtained possession from the native owners of some hundred and twenty townlands near Monaghan town.[1] Ever Mahon was reared among people who had seen the Gaedhil rule territory in which they now enjoyed only a measure of insecure ation. Sir Edward Blayney from his castle in Monaghan ruled the stral lands of the Mac Mahons. The memory of the past glories is people must have stirred the heart of the young Ever to pride, the evidence of their present servitude visible on every side have d his youthful imagination. The churches of Oirghialla were in s or had been taken over by the new settlers, the monastic buildings sometimes used as barracks. In such an environment Ever Mahon grew to young manhood.

Ve next find him a student at the Pastoral College (Collegium orale) of Louvain, where he enjoyed a burse founded for students the diocese of Clogher by Eugene Matthews, Archbishop of Dublin. report sent to the Secretary of Propaganda on the 4th March 1625 names of the holders of this burse are given, and the first name he list is that of Emer Mattheus (Mac Mahon), who was then ty-five years of age. Before coming to Louvain he had attended the College at Douai. At Louvain he obtained his Doctorate of nity and was appointed superior of the Pastoral College.[2]

n that university town we may be sure that Ever Mac Mahon found elf in congenial surroundings. Nearby was the Franciscan College t. Anthony of Padua founded by Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire in 1606. Anthony's was then the nucleus of the literary and religious life of ic Ireland. Books in Irish of a devotional nature were written and ed there. Bonaventura O'Hussey, another Clogher man, had written Irish Catechism there. Great scholars were gathered there like n Mac Aingil, greatest theologian of the time, poet, and former tutor e sons of the great Hugh O'Neill ; Flaithri Ó Maolchonaire, Aodh An Bháird, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, and a host of others.[3] If Ireland depressed Ever Mac Mahon, surely Louvain must have raised his ping spirits and filled him with hope. Here also he met for the time Owen Roe O'Neill, and here were established those ties of

Shirley, op. cit., p. 212.

John Lynch : *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* (ed. J. F. O'Doherty, 1944) I, p. 200 ; Canon MacKenna in a C.T.S.I. pamphlet : *Heber MacMahon in the Confederate Wars* (1908),

Tomás Ó Cléirigh : *Aodh Mac Aingil agus Scoil na Nua-Gaedhilge i Lobháin* (1935).

friendship between the two that were to outlast the joys and triumphs, the victories and defeats of over twenty years.

During the years of his boyhood and youth Ever Mac Mahon had seen the holdings of his Gaelic countrymen of Ulster taken over by foreigners. He had seen the religion and institutions of his people harried and proscribed. He himself was taught by teachers who were in the eyes of the law no better than outlaws. He had desired to become a priest, and in order to qualify for Holy Orders he had been obliged to cross the sea and seek the hospitality of a foreign land. It was these experiences that shaped his future policy. Next to the pursuit of his priestly vocation we can truthfully say that he lived but for two aims: the emancipation of his Catholic fellow-countrymen and the restoration of the confiscated lands of Ulster. All his future actions must be judged by their relation to these aims.

II

In his history of the Irish Bishops Archdeacon Lynch tells us that Ever Mac Mahon came back to Ireland in 1633 on his being appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the diocese of Clogher.[1] A priestly vocation called for heroic qualities in the Ireland of Mac Mahon's day. During the reigns of James I and Charles I sporadic bouts of persecution kept breaking out; schools were closed, churches wrecked, and several priests and one bishop suffered the supreme penalty. In and after 1629, during the administration of Loftus and Richard Boyle, persecution was intensified and the cave on Station Island on Loch Derg within the diocese of Clogher was closed up. After Wentworth's appointment in 1633 the severity of the Penal Laws was again somewhat relaxed, but there was always a dread that they might at any time be re-inforced with all their old harshness. Wentworth's whole policy in regard to this country was directed towards the building up of a prosperous Ireland that would be a rich source of revenue for the depleted Royal purse. To the dispossessed clansmen of Ulster he held out no promise of repatriation.

In 1628, whilst he was still in Flanders, Ever Mac Mahon was aware of, and in all probability was a party to a plot to secure help from Cardinal Richelieu for a projected invasion of Ireland.[2] The evidence that the Irish leaders at home and abroad were in touch with the French authorities is, although doubt has been cast upon it, so definite as to be irrefutable. Furthermore John Lynch states that shortly after Ever's return to Ireland the Government got to know of a conspiracy between the Irish leaders and Cardinal Richelieu for a French invasion of Ireland. The Archbisho

[1] Lynch, op. cit. I, p. 200.

[2] See 'Conor Maguire's Confession', printed by J. T. Gilbert in *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* (1879–80) I, Part 2, pp. 501–12. Henceforth this work will be cited as *Hist.*

rmagh, Hugh O'Reilly, was arrested on suspicion but was released
pparently, no evidence to prove his participation in the plot was
able.[1] In this connection Borlase says that Ever Mac Mahon came
me of the authorities in Dublin and confessed his participation in a
to secure foreign aid for a rising in Ireland.[2] Clarendon says it
to Sir John Radcliffe that Ever came with his confession, and that
sked for a pardon for his alleged misdeeds but asked that it should
iven secretly lest his confederates in the plot should hear of it.[3]
details of the incident are so vague and unsupported by any other
ence that Gilbert casts doubt on the authenticity of the story. We
ot, however, dismiss the matter as easily as all that, and the statements
Clarendon and Borlase taken in conjunction with the statement of
ch may have a basis in fact. But the truth is that Mac Mahon did
divulge any vital information at all. Borlase and Clarendon go on to
t of his active part in the 1641 Rising and in the political events of the
equent years. They speak of him as being the leader of those
posed to any reconciliation."[4] He was one of the prime movers
he planning of the October Rising in 1641, and he certainly did not
any information then. He was distrusted, we may truthfully say
d, by Scots, Parliamentarians and Royalists alike in the years of the
federation. How explain this alleged affair of 1634? Taylor's
rpretation of the allegation is that Ever made a pretended peace with
authorities in order to cloak his own treasonable activities.[5] The
probably was a failure or was abandoned as not practical. If
Mahon had been found guilty of complicity it would have meant
imprisonment, possibly death. He was Owen Roe's principal agent
reland. His arrest would have been a deadly blow at the underground
ement whose aim was to promote by every means religious and political
ice for the Irish Catholics. This then we may take as the reason for
r's alleged action. His submission, if indeed it ever took place, does
appear to have acted as a check upon his participation in illegal political
vities. In 1635 he traversed a good deal of Ireland and enlisted some
e thousand Palesmen for Owen Roe's regiment.[6] This was a personal
mph, because hitherto Preston had been regarded as the leader of
Palesmen abroad.

In 1637 the Archbishop of Armagh wrote to his agent in Rome naming
e whom he, together with the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore, deemed
thy of promotion. The information had been desired by the Cardinal
ector. The name of Ever Mac Mahon, Vicar-Apostolic of Clogher,

[1] Lynch, op. cit. I, pp. 200–1.
[2] Borlase : *A History of the Irish Rebellion* (1743), pp. 2–3.
[3] Clarendon : *A History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland* (1720), pp. 133–7.
[4] Borlase, op. cit., p. 313.
[5] J. F. Taylor : *Owen Roe O'Neill* (1906 edition), pp. 50-1.
[6] Ibid., p. 51.

is mentioned as one who for four years had carried out well all the duties of his office.[1] In 1641 it was decided to fill the vacant see of Down and Connor. The Archbishop of Armagh recommended three candidates: Ever Mac Mahon, Vicar Apostolic of Clogher, Thomas Mac Kernan a Franciscan friar also of Clogher, and Henry O'Mellan also a friar. In recommending these names he said that he knew the three men well and that he had taken into consideration their experience, knowledge, method of procedure in carrying out their duties, and their patience in face of adversity; the peculiar needs of a diocese like Down and Connor; and he adds that he had had occasion to depend on the industry and labour of these three men in various ecclesiastical matters and in the face of great trials.[2] Ever was selected for the vacant see. The official Roman records contain some interesting references to him in connection with his elevation to the episcopate. We are told that he was about forty years of age and had been born in the territory of Farney (terra Fiernia); that he was a Doctor of Sacred Theology; that as Vicar-Apostolic of Clogher he had carried out his duties in a praiseworthy and zealous fashion; that he was a man of integrity, learning and sound morals.[3] This was in May 1641. Ever was now Bishop-elect of Down and Connor.

The new Bishop was deeply implicated in the plans for the Rising of 1641. The circumstances of the time, the antagonism of the authorities to Catholicism, the rumour of more plantations, the futility of trying to secure their rights by peaceful means and the general feeling of insecurity abroad had convinced the Old Irish Catholics that their rights could be won only by an armed rising. The time seemed propitious and the example of the Scots, coupled with the quarrel between the King and Parliament in England, had encouraged them in their resolution. Ever was aware of all the plans that were being considered.[4] On a Saturday early in October a meeting was held in the house of Mac Colloe Mac Mahon in Farney at which were present Mac Mahon himself, Captain O'Neill, Rory O'More, Ever Mac Mahon and Conor Maguire. Due to the fact, however, that there were many English in the neighbourhood and fearing lest suspicions should be raised they decided to disperse and to meet again in the house of Turlough Mac Henry O'Neill in Loughros. On Tuesday, October 15th, the meeting was resumed in Loughros there being present Sir Phelim O'Neill, Ever Mac Mahon, Rory O'More, Captain O'Neill, and Conor Maguire. Here the final plans for the Rising were decided upon by the five men who had met to plan the destiny of a nation. By their decision that night they set in motion forces that were to have far-reaching effects on the future history of their country.

[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, edited by Cardinal Moran (1874) I, p. 229. Cited henceforth as *Spic. Ossor.*

[2] *Spic. Ossor.* I, p. 254.

[3] Brady, op. cit., p. 255.

[4] See Conor Maguire's Confession, *Hist.*, Part 2, pp. 501-12.

ects more sweeping and fundamental than they had envisaged. The sing was fixed for the night of the 23rd of October ; in Maguire's words grounding all or most of our hope and confidence on the succours from lonel O'Neale (i.e. Owen Roe)."[1] On the following day, October th, they departed from Loughros each man to his own special task. ver again would they all meet together this side of eternity.

III

In a statement made to the Lords Justices, Henry Mac Cartan, who d been Owen O'Neill's Quartermaster in Flanders and who had been ently arrested by the Castle authorities, said that Owen Roe's first tructions to the leaders of the Insurrection were that they should send er Mac Mahon to the courts of France, Rome and Vienna to solicit l for the Irish cause.[2] The advice was not acted upon, most probably cause the Vicar Apostolic's presence in Ireland was absolutely necessary. we shall see his influence upon the Ulstermen was very great. He s their spokesman on all occasions. When the Rising broke out he pears to have been in the neighbourhood of Carrickmacross, and in e of the depositions an attempt is made to hold him responsible for death of some of the English of that town, though in fact he was not esent on the occasion of the executions. This witness further adds :— Some have said that his counsel is much followed in all their proceedings, ing indeed as it were an oracle among them."[3] Ever was also in North onaghan around the same period as we learn from the deposition of cholas Simpson, one of the two Members of Parliament for the county. mpson was held in captivity in Glaslough by Turlough O'Neill and Mac Quades. In his deposition he says,—" At last came Ever ac Mahon, the Vicar General of Clogher, or titular Bishop of Down, who hink was one of the principal plotters of this treason, and he knowing t my Lord McGuire and Hugh Mac Mahon were apprehended, drew tain remonstrances of their grievances, with the reasons for this their urrection, which he told me the Gentlemen of the County of Monaghan d chosen me to deliver to the State, to be sent into England to his Majesty h a copy of a protestation of their loyalty, both which I delivered to Robert Meredith."[4]

The reconciliations effected between the leaders of the Pale and the d Irish leaders was, next to the Rising itself, the most important event Irish History in that year. It paved the way for the foundation of the nfederation of Kilkenny and promised to put an end to a centuries-old stility. We may take it for granted that Ever Mac Mahon played an

[1] *Hist.* I, Part 2, p. 509.
[2] *Hist.* I, Part 1, p. 398–9.
[3] Shirley, op. cit., p. 267.
[4] Ibid., p. 138.

important part in accomplishing this unity, due to his great influence with the Old Irish of the North and his friendship with many of the Pale families.[1] He was present at the Synod of Kells (March 22, 1642) at which the assembled bishops and other religious leaders of the Province of Armagh declared the war that had been entered upon by the united Catholics of Ireland to be "a lawful and pious undertaking." The third signature to the decrees issued by this synod is that of Ever Mac Mahon (Emerus Dunensis et Connorensis).[2] He was present at the General Synod which assembled at Kilkenny on May 10th of that same year, where an oath of association to bind together all Catholics was drawn up and a constitution for a Confederate Parliament of Irish Catholics decided upon. We find the signature "Emerus Episcopus Dunensis" attached to the Acts of this Synod.[3] In the following November Ever was appointed one of the six Ulster representatives on the Supreme Council of the Confederation.

In the meantime Owen Roe O'Neill had arrived in Ireland from Flanders and had taken the place of Sir Phelim O'Neill as military leader of the Ulster Irish. On O'Neill's arrival in Ulster Ever Mac Mahon went to meet him at the head of a troop of cavalry from Oirghialla.[4] There now commenced that close relationship which existed between the two down until Owen's death in 1649. The chief hope of Catholic success lay in unity, and the Confederation provided a means by which that unity could be maintained. Hence despite the many tergiversations and lack of decision which characterized the policy of the Supreme Council, the Ulster men remained faithful to their oath of association and obeyed the Council's commands almost unquestioningly until the first Ormond Peace drove a wide breach between the Old Irish and Anglo-Irish members of the Confederation. Any peace which ignored the claims of the Ulster Irish to have their confiscated lands restored was bound to be unacceptable to them. They also desired free practice of the Catholic Religion. It was this that ultimately drove the Nuncio to their side. It was in the hope of helping to maintain this unity that Mac Mahon remained a member of the Supreme Council.

On 9 December, 1642 the Supreme Council addressed a letter to the Cardinal Protector in Rome asking that Ever Mac Mahon, Bishop-elect of Down and Connor, should be transferred to Clogher. They pay tribute to his great services as a member of the Supreme Council, but go on to explain that they could not avail of these services to the full while he remained in the diocese of Down and Connor. This diocese, they say, was situated in the remotest part of the Kingdom and had been

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[1] Borlase, op. cit., p. 313; and Conor Maguire's Confession.
[2] *Comm.* I, p. 319.
[3] *Comm.* I, p. 326.
[4] Meehan, op. cit., p. 239.

aid waste by the English and Scots that Ever was like a titular bishop *artibus infidelium*. They further state that during his years as Vicar-ostolic of the Diocese of Clogher Ever had acted with such credit to iself that he was acceptable to all and beloved by the nobility and ple of the diocese. Furthermore his consecration as Bishop of Down Connor had not yet taken place. In a letter written on the following to Father Luke Wadding they ask him to petition the Holy Father have Ever Mac Mahon translated to Clogher.[1] The request was nted and in the words of the writer of the *Aphorismical Discovery :* n this verie Assembly was Everus Mac Mahon consecrated Bishop Clogher, havinge the fiat of Dune and Conor these two years past, though consecrated untill now, cedinge the former two united for this onely Clogher."[2] This was in June 1643, when Ever was consecrated in kenny Cathedral.

From 1642 to 1646 we find Ever's signature attached to all the decrees financial documents issued by the Supreme Council.[3] From 1642 as we have already noted, we find his name and that of Owen Roe ked together as the two leaders of the Northern Old Irish. Thus in tter written to Ormond in July 1644 Daniel O'Neill says :—" I hafe tten to Emer Mac Mahun, and my unkle, to showe their integritie his Majestie in obeying your commands now."[4] Again in a letter to nil O'Neill in March 1645 Owen Roe says :—" I doe very much admire t yow or any bodie of witt would hearken to that base and foolish reporte t the Bushop of Clogher and me sealfe should have a hand in stopeinge n from England. You maie conceave that wee both doth understand t the keepeinge of our enemies in action abroad is that which will ure us at home ; and take it from me that the men out of Ulster will readie to go for England as soon as any men in Ireland. . . . Yow tt to me that I should writt to My Lord Lieutenant or Sir Morish stace to excuse me sealfe and Bushop of Clogher for that madd talke l to our chardge. . . . Still yow know there are many lands in the rth which do belong to the enemie, and I praie you reserve their todium for those of Ulster, for ther are manie poore gentlemen in that ovince waietinge for them, though they are not able to sue for them."[5] at last sentence is charged with ominous significance. In 1643 Ever s with Owen Roe in his camp at Ballyhaise in County Cavan, and was ong those who advised him not to trust himself to Castlehaven.[6]

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[1] *Spic. Ossor.* I, p. 281.
[2] *Hist.* I, Part 1, p. 78.
[3] See the documents printed in Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* ols., 1879–80) ; in the same author's *History of the Confederation and Wars in Ireland* ols., 1882–91) ; and in the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus.*
[4] *Hist.* I, Part 2, p. 592.
[5] Ibid., p. 666–7.
[6] ' The Relation of Colonel Henry Nac Tuoll O'Neill ', printed in *Desiderata Curiosa erniae* II, p. 500, and also in *Hist.*

On 21 October, 1645, John Baptist Rinuccini arrived in Ireland whither he had been sent as Papal Nuncio to the Confederation by Pope Innocent X, bringing with him arms and money for the Confederates. In both the public and secrets instructions issued to him before setting out from Rome he was advised that :—" He must fix his Residence as near as possible to said Council, and through private friends gain over its cleverest, most faithful and zealous men, such as Malachy, Archbishop of Tuam and Emeril (*sic*) Bishop of Clogher, but taking good care not to excite a shadow of suspicion in the minds of the other members of the Council devoted to Ormond."[1] In his account of the reception accorded him on his arrival at Kilkenny he states :—" I then had the Papal brief and the letter of Cardinal Pamphili read, and concluded with a few more words after which I pronounced upon them all the Apostolic Benediction, which was mentioned in the brief. I was answered by the Bishop of Clogher, standing and in a short habit."[2] The Nuncio was not long in Ireland before he discovered that serious differences existed between the Old and the " New " Irish, as he termed them. By subterfuges men friendly to Ormond had got control of the Supreme Council, much to the chagrin of the Old Irish whose grievances were not being considered. Furthermore the Nuncio tells us that the Old Irish nobility had drawn the clergy to their side, while their opponents were suspicious of the clergy and desired peace with Ormond and the King at any price. He also notes significantly that the " New " Irish did not seem to welcome his coming to the country. He criticizes severely the older members of the hierarchy for their timorous attitude, their rather servile mentality, and their willingness to be grateful to the King and Ormond " for the free though secret exercise of religion " ; but goes on to excuse them somewhat by recalling that they had lived " through suppressions and alarms." He found more resolution and spirit among the younger Bishops about whom he says :—" Such for example are the Bishops of Clogher and Ferns and the coadjutor of Limerick, with this difference, however, that the first is entirely swayed by political rules and motives, the third by the practice and example of Rome, and the Bishop of Ferns by his affection for the Church."[3] Of these three we can now say, looking back at these events across a chasm of some three hundred years, that the Bishop of Clogher alone upheld the rights of the Church in their highest degree and that in the end, as a result of his bold stand, he perished on a gibbet: " odii in fidem Catholicam tessera."[4] His approach to the problems of the time in Ireland was, as Rinuccini was to discover before very long,

[1] *Comm.* I, p. 622. An English version of these Instructions is given in Hutton's translation of G. Aiazzi's work : *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini* (1873), p. liii. This English version will be cited henceforth as *Embassy*.
[2] *Comm.* II, p. 27 ; *Embassy*, p. 91.
[3] *Comm.* II, p. 175 ; *Embassy*, p. 141.
[4] *Spic. Ossor.* II, p. 85.

most realistic. At first Rinuccini was unable to fathom the character Owen Roe. In speaking of the different commands in a letter to dinal Pamphili he said :—" In Ulster Owen Roe will command as as done for a long time ; he is a strange and grasping man but it would mpossible to remove him."[1]

In his first relation to Rome the Nuncio referred to the fact that the paign in Ulster was almost at a standstill, due to the dissensions veen Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neill. The fact that he had lost Ulster command and had had to yield place to Owen had been a blow to Sir Phelim's pride. He was also ambitious to obtain the of Earl of Tyrone. For a while he had kept his feelings under restraint the enemies of the Northern party saw in Sir Phelim's discomfiture pportunity to drive a wedge into the ranks of the Northern Irish. his dispute we find Ever Mac Mahon as Owen's principal supporter. Nuncio earnestly desired that an end should be put to this unhappy of affairs, and as a result of his mediation the three men agreed by end of March 1646 to forget their past animosities, which had brought on their province, and agreed to act together for the future.[2] In tter written by Richard Bellings to the Nuncio on 5th of May that e year we learn that Mac Mahon was going north from Kilkenny on following day to try to prevail on Owen Roe to lead out his troops.[3] position in Ulster was now very favourable. The recent agreement veen Owen Roe and the Bishop of Clogher on the one hand and Phelim eill on the other had led to unity and confidence. Mac Mahon eeded in his mission. On 5th June the Battle of Benburb was fought won. On 9th June Ever Mac Mahon wrote to the Nuncio from the p at Benburb informing him of the victory. The authors of the *mentarius Rinuccinianus* give Mac Mahon's letter as their authority stating that the Catholic watchword was *Sancta Maria*.[4]

(*To be concluded*)

Séamus P. Moore

Embassy, p. 158.
Comm. II, pp. 187–90.
Ibid., p. 237.
Ibid., p. 245.

THOMAS PRIOR, 1681-1751

FOUNDER OF THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY

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TWO hundred years ago Thomas Prior—the dear Tom of Swift and Berkeley—died. His contemporaries mourned the loss of a great and good man, and though time has not detracted from his greatness nor his goodness, his memory has passed with the years, despite the lasting memorial to his efforts.

Thomas Prior was born at Rathdowney in Laoghis in 1681. His grandfather, an English Captain, came to Ireland with his regiment in 1636, and later obtained some five hundred acres of land in the neighbourhood of Rathdowney under the Act of Settlement. In 1691 young Prior was sent to Kilkenny school, sometimes known as White's school, which was founded in 1538 by Sir Piers Butler, and numbers amongst its students, Peter Lombard and Luke Wadding, Farquhar and Swift. The most notable of Prior's fellow-students was George Berkeley, philosopher and Protestant Bishop of Cloyne. Though Prior was some years Berkeley's senior, a friendship sprang up between the two boys that was to last a lifetime.

From an entry in the school register we find that Prior "left the second class, April, 1699, and was entered in the University of Dublin." Though entered for the University he did not immediately proceed there either because of the death of his father or because as a boy he appears to have been somewhat delicate. However, in 1700, he was elected a scholar and once more rejoined his friend Berkeley. He was, we gather, a studious and intelligent young man and two years later obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree. During his period at Trinity he entered fully into the cultural and philosophical life which derived a certain liberal-mindedness from the philosophy of Locke and the newborn nationalism of such public-spirited Anglo-Irishmen as Molyneux, Madden and Swift.

The opening of the new century marked a very distinct period in Irish history, a period which saw the firm establishment of a new ruling class of Anglo-Irish. Many of these sons and grandsons of English settlers regarded their inheritance in no way as a mere colony nor themselves as mere colonists, but Ireland was to them a country of equal status with England. Though this proud community could "ignore the existence of their helots," they stood firmly by the principle enunciated by Swift when he declared that "By the laws of God, of nature, of nations

of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your thren in England." This declaration of Swift more precisely set down ıe thirty years before by Molyneux in his *Case of Ireland Stated*, was mly accepted by the more intelligent and patriotic young Anglo-h of the early eighteenth century. Among those young men who nered together in a Philosophical Society in Trinity College were keley, Madden, Dobbs, Prior and Edward Synge. Hone and Rossi ınd us they " conceived themselves as leaders of a nation about to be ɔnstructed." Though the offsprings of a hard core of militant Pro-ıantism they were not entirely unmindful of the appalling conditions he Irish masses, who, the same authors tell us, would not be " left as Pariahs, but regarded in the Swiftian manner as people given to ir care."

It was in this atmosphere of reborn nationalism that young Prior nt his most formative years, and it left a mark upon his life which was ned to the more practical patriotism of working for the social and nomic integration of the country, rather than writing and teaching the losophy of nationalism, and debating in the astute legalistic manner Molyneux.

From the time Prior left College until the year 1713 we have little dence as to how he occupied himself. His estates at this period yielded income of more than £500 per annum. We know too that he had a ıse in Bolton-street, Dublin, but we may deduce that he spent a con-ɛrable time on his estate at Rathdowney as he was an improving dlord ; he occasionally went to Cambridge to visit his uncle Richard, ose favourite nephew he was.

In 1713 Prior left Ireland probably accompanying his friend Berkeley ɔ had obtained leave of absence from Trinity College because of ill-lth. While in England Prior moved in the circle which included his nd Berkeley, the poet Parnell and Samuel Molyneux ; though there ıo direct evidence, this English visit may have marked the first meeting Prior and Swift, a little known friendship commemorated in an anony-usly published satire, *A Dialogue between Dean Swift and Thomas or in the Isles of St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, on that Memorable day, tober 9th*, 1753.

Prior's stay in England appears to have lasted a year or more. In vember, 1713, Berkeley left England for Sicily as chaplain to the glish Ambassador, and in the same month wrote to Prior from Paris ing a detailed account of his travels, including a visit to the celebrated ɛe Malebranche. In January of the following year, still addressing letters to England, Berkeley continues with descriptions of Italy, l a month later asks Prior " In answer to all my letters I desire you d me one great one, close writ and filled on all sides, containing a ticular account of all the transactions in London and Dublin."

Prior apparently returned to Ireland early in the year 1714, and for the next eight years we have little material to enable us to fill this gap in his life. Sometime during this period, however, he would appear to have taken over the management of Berkeley's affairs which were growing more and more entangled, first by reason of his appointment to the Deanery of Dromore which committed him to a long lawsuit, and then by the strangely inexplicable legacy under the will of Ester van Homrigh, Swift's Vanessa, who apparently out of spleen left her fortune between Berkeley and a young lawyer named Robert Marshall. As may be gathered from the extant Berkeley letters, Prior was fully occupied straightening out his friend's affairs and also acting for the other Vanessa legatee—Marshall.

It is a little difficult to define Prior's position *vis-à-vis* Berkeley; he has been described as Berkeley's *alter ego*. He was both a friendly adviser, and at the same time Berkeley's town agent. At all times however he was Berkeley's " dear and close friend," and the intimacy of this lifelong friendship is clearly revealed even in the most business-like letters which invariably end, " I am, dear Tom, your affectionate humble servant."

In 1726 Prior's uncle Richard died at Ely, and by his will bequeathed to his " loving nephew, Thomas Prior " some forty acres of land in the parish of Leverington in the Isles of Ely, and a leasehold estate in the town of Cambridge as well as the More-Houses " holden to the masters, fellows and scholars of St. John's College." This bequest was certainly of considerable value, but does not appear to have influenced in any way Prior's modest mode of living.

During this period despite his occupation with Berkeley's and his own personal affairs Prior appears to have taken a warm interest in the more active and resolute activities of the new Irish who, to paraphrase Lecky, owed their entire adherance to the doctrine of Molyneux, and declared allegiance to the King, not as King of England, but King of Ireland. Swift, the older and more experienced pamphleteer, set an example which younger men like Prior were quick to follow, and some years later put into practical effect. The *Drapier's Letters*, first published in 1724, had the effect of rousing an almost spiritless and lethargic people, and awakened in the Irish Parliament a spirit of independence that reached a climax in the days of Grattan and Flood. Supine acceptance of the dictates of a British Parliament, particularly in connection with " Wood's halfpence " stirred Swift to coin his immortal phrase that " Government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery." A phrase that was not lost on his younger followers.

In 1729 two pamphlets appeared from the pen of Prior, both of which might claim to be companion tracts to the *Drapier's Letters*. Where Swift with all the incisiveness of a master satirist encompassed in a general manner the problem of Wood's coinage and Ireland's ill, Prior particularized and wrote as the practical and astute man of affairs. Swift was not

indful of Prior's ability in this connection for he writes in his *Humble ress to Both House of Parliament :* " Many of the above articles have e been particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise Reader is referred." This treatise was Prior's *List of Absentees, and Yearly Value of their Estates . . . . with observations on the Present e and Condition of that Kingdom.* Prior's second pamphlet, *Observa- on Coin in General with some proposals for regulating the Coin in ınd,* was connected with the larger problem which in the main gave to Wood's Coinage : the recurring evil of the scarcity of small coin in ınd, consequent upon the great drain on the country's resources due bsenteeism. In this pamphlet Prior sets out a series of solutions to problem of coin shortage, including a retention by way of tax of some he absentees' rents.

Prior's *List of Absentees* was a pamphlet of more importance. To pile and print it was a courageous step for in it Prior pilloried his class and many of his intimate friends. *The List of Absentees* ran ugh numerous editions and was continually brought up to date ; an rged edition was printed by Faulkner in 1783, some thirty-two years Prior's death. Despite the criticism of men like Primate Boulter, cism which did not help to better his position as a public man, Prior r, even when he became prominent as founder and secretary of the lin Society, retracted a single statement or sought to soften the stigma ttached to absenteeism.

Prior in his *List of Absentees* calculated that a sum of more than ,000 was sent out of the country each year which could and should been employed at home to provide employment for the impoverished le. In this connection Prior wrote : " If these gentlemen, who out of this Kingdom yearly £600,000 could be prevailed upon to d the same at home, the advantages and good effect thereof would on visible in the improvement of land and houses ; in the increase of le, arts and manufactures, in a greater produce in Excise and Custom, in the better support of the government ; whereas now by the means ur Nobility and Gentry deserting their own Country, and spending broad, our People are left without employment, and are forced to to foreign countries."

Prior deplored the evil system by which English henchmen obtained offices and sinecures ; many of whom never set foot in the country, t the most only appeared to take the oath of office. His courageous sé roused the ire amongst others of the Protestant Primate Boulter, *le facto* ruler of Ireland, who insisted throughout his career in placing ishmen in Irish bishoprics as well as in all government posts. Boulter, m Lecky describes as " a narrow, intolerant and dull man, singularly id of all religious enthusiasm," complained to the British Prime ister : " There is a very bad spirit, I fear, artfully spread among

all degree of men amongst us, and the utmost grumbling against England as getting all our money from us, either by trade or otherwise, and this spirit has been heightened by a book lately published here about absentees . . . . . I believe among less intelligent persons they are for taxing the absentees four shillings in the pound." There were others in high places who complained, but Prior, Swift and Madden continued to decry absenteeism, and the tax they advocated was, later, feebly enjoined by Parliament.

Perhaps from the point of view of national economics the second part of Prior's *List of Absentees* dealing with Irish trade and industry is of more practical importance. In this he tells us that " We are apt to complain of the hardships laid upon us by England in respect of our trade, and when we are pinched and in distress charge our misfortune to the account of other people ; but if we truly examine all circumstances and the inconvenience we labour under, we owe them to our immoderate consumption of foreign commodities and extravagant spending abroad." This statement of Prior's was a forthright appeal to the Irish people to support home industry, and he went into greater detail on what might be done in this respect than Swift did in his *Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufactures*. Regarding the woollen industry, which was suffering from the restrictive measures of the British Parliament, Prior saw no reason why the industry could not be employed to the fullest to clothe the Irish people ; he even appealed for the use of woollen shrouds to clothe the dead. To offset over-production of wool he suggested the feeding of less sheep, and the planting of former pastures with flax, thus helping to increase the manufacture of linen, particularly the finer types of linen to take the place of imported silks.

Prior lists a number of other items that could be produced in Ireland. He tells us, for instance, that madder which was used in dyeing could be grown, thus avoiding the importation of 5,000 pounds of it each year from Holland. Hops to the value of £48,235 were imported in 1726, " when 'tis certain, that in the southern parts of the Kingdom, we could raise very good hops, and sufficient for our own consumption. Paper, cambrics, glass and earth-ware were among the other items suggested by Prior, and he failed to understand why we should not provide our own shipping, whereby we might gain the freight and merchant profit." Many of the ideas set down by Prior have since found satisfactory acceptance.

II

Prior had now reached a stage in his life when it had become increasingly necessary to put into practical effect the teachings so long committed to paper not only by himself but by such writers as Swift, Madden and Dobbs. The appalling economic conditions, and the utter

ıedness of the people following the decline of Irish industry and , made it apparent that something tangible would have to be done tore the country's economy ; new industries, and a more balanced p-to-date agricultural system were an obvious need.

ı the 25 July 1731, fourteen men met in the rooms of the Philoso- Society in Trinity College and unanimously agreed to form a y, by the name of the Dublin Society for Improving Husbandry, factures and other Useful Arts. The fourteen men present were ıomas Molyneux, Judge Ward, Thomas Upton, John Pratt, Richard urton, Dr. Stephen, Rev. Dr. Whitecomb, Arthur Dobbs, Dr. aten, Dr. John Madden, Dr. Lehunte, Mr. Walton, Thomas Prior Villiam Maple. The second meeting of the newly-formed Society eld a week later and Prior took the chair. At this meeting Prior equested to draw up the rules of the Society with Dr. Stephens, ıe new rules as drawn up were submitted and approved of at a later ıg.

September Prior with some of his associates formed a committee w up a plan of the Society for distribution throughout the country. e same meeting it was agreed that Jethro Tull's volume, *Horse- g Husbandry*, should be printed for use in Ireland. Tull's work n almost revolutionary effect on English agriculture : it introduced which drilled the seeds in rows, and " cleared and hoed the intervals." Society's edition of this work was printed by Rhames and two and copies were ordered for distribution.

owards the end of the year 1731 Prior submitted to the committee rst of a series of questions relating to madder and the desirability ing cloth at home instead of sending it to Holland for the purpose. er was, of course, one of the products discussed in Prior's *List of tees*. When the Society was six months old and had been meeting me time in the Lords' Committee-room at Parliament House, the lection of officers took place. Prior was elected secretary with tephens, a position which he retained until his death almost twenty later. He immediately exchanged communications with the leading scientists, farmers and inventors, and obtained a number of cal Dutch text-books. Farmers in England were likewise consulted, gents sent there to find out the best methods of raising hops, and to back species of marl for investigation.

ıe ideal of carrying out the work and administration of the Society untary committees, which has persisted to this day, was laid down cember, 1731, in the following words : " Each Member on sion be desired to choose some particular subject, either in Natural y, Husbandry, Agriculture or Gardening, or some species of facture, or other branch of improvement, and make it his business ıding what hath been printed on the subject, by conversing with

them that make it their profession, or by making their own experiments, to make himself Master thereof, and to report in writing the best account they can get by experiment or enquiry relating thereto, proper queries to be drawn up and transmitted to such Members and the answers shall be approved and printed for the use of the public."

At the next meeting we find that a number of queries and letters relating, particularly, to cider were referred to Prior. Some time later he submitted an abstract of Salter and Hall's pamphlet on Flax which was published by the Society under the title *Advantages which may arise to the People of Ireland by raising Flax and Flaxseed . . . with Instructions for sowing and saving the Seed, and Preparing the Flax for the Market.* This was the first of the many pamphlets of a practical nature which Prior drew up for the Society. A second pamphlet on the raising of Hops was published in 1733; this was later used and reprinted in full by the English agricultural writer Mills in his monumental work on agriculture. In reprinting Prior's treatise some fifteen years later, Mills states that he does so for "it is still the best treatise on the subject." As well as preparing pamphlets on agricultural subjects Prior, as Secretary of the Society, was responsible for purchasing the agricultural implements and models which were stored in the vaults of the Irish Parliament House, and formed the first museum of agricultural implements in these islands. In 1733 the first nursery or botanical garden was purchased at Ballybough and laid out under the supervision of Prior, who reported that "2,400 Hop sets were planted and also four hundred cyder trees." A larger plot was later obtained at Summerhill, but by 1736 both these nurseries were found to be too small for practical experiments on a large scale, so in that year Prior was instructed to secure four acres of land near Martin's lane and Marlborough street. Some months later he was able to report having "sowed some parts of the Society's field with Dutch, Riga, Philadelphia and Irish Flax-seed, all separately to see the effects." He continued to experiment with hops which was almost a fetish with him and was able to report a year later that "great quantities of hops have been raised," and according to the brewers they were "found to be as good and rather better than imported hops." An inventory of the Society's nursery in 1737 showed there were more than 1,000 hop sets planted, and over 1,514 cider trees.

In the year 1739 the Dublin Society was beginning to find itself in difficulties; possibly an overabundance of zeal on the part of Prior and his associates committed both themselves and the Society to a larger expenditure than the income warranted. Despite efforts to revitalize the Society the continued lack of funds seriously embarrassed it. A new situation, however, arose when Dr. Samuel Madden penned his momentous *Letter to the Dublin Society on Improving their Fund.* Madden was a close friend of Prior's and had been a member of the Society since

His financial help contributed greatly to the eventual success of ociety. Webb in his *Compendium of Irish Biography* writes of the nen thus : " While Thomas Prior was most active in founding the ty, Madden was the one to whom the ultimate success of this great nal institution was due." Madden in his Letter suggested how the s of the Society might be augmented, and offered a sum of £130 vo years to be awarded as premiums for experiments in agriculture, e best invention, for the best painting, and for the best statue produced eland. Later Madden undertook to continue his subscription for hen £500 was procured, " provided the Society apply his little fund e view they are directed to, with their usual activity and prudence." den's appeal was successful and subscriptions were eventually ned amounting to nearly £900 per annum to be used for promoting and manufactures " as have not hitherto been introduced." The list of premiums to be awarded was published on the 28 February, and became a commonplace feature of Irish newspapers for the sixty years or more.

he next few years saw Prior fully occupied with the many activities e revitalized Dublin Society. An ever expanding list of premiums ared to encompass every human activity in industry, agriculture art. No manufacture, no improvement in agricultural methods, ork of art seemed too great or too small to be encouraged and sup- d ; even the killing of rats was considered necessary, and we find the city of Kilkenny was awarded £10 for having cleared itself of ars by finding employment for them. A number of new paper mills established, and the raw material for processing obtained by awarding iums to rag-gatherers.

is difficult to assess the Society's contribution to the economic ocial well-being of the country in its early days. We know that it d an important part in the otherwise arid history of the period by ling in the minds and hearts of the more progressive landlords a of responsibility and an awareness of their duty to the land of their ; it sought by publishing pamphlets and weekly observations in laily press to bring clearly and concisely before the agricultural nunity the best and most modern methods of husbandry ; it imported ultural implements, and employed skilled men to manufacture and nstrate their use. In the field of industry the Society gave large iums to establish new industries, support those in difficulties, and op and expand those already in being. By establishing a school it offered opportunities and encouragement to students of painting, ng and sculpture. Though the initial contribution to the social, al and economic life of the country may have been small, we must se sight of the fact that it was from the small beginnings, fostered pioneering zeal by Prior and his associates, that most of our national

institutions, and at least one state department of to-day, originally sprang. Our National Library, Museum and Art Gallery, our School of Art and College of Science, our Botanic Gardens, Veterinary College and Department of Agriculture are but a few of the institutions either initiated by or entrusted to the care of the Dublin Society.

Though the founding of the Dublin Society was Prior's great achievement and the object of his unsparing efforts for almost twenty years, he found time to devote his energies to matters which in the main might be said to arise from the aims and objects of the Dublin Society. Early in the year 1741 Berkeley, now Bishop of Cloyne, wrote to Prior calling attention to the widespread dysentry and pestilence following on the famine years of 1739, 1740 and 1741. What Berkeley sought from Prior was a remedy or at least a panacea to combat and cure the many ailments from which the people suffered. He asked Prior to send him a number of books on medicine and suggest a suitable remedy. Prior suggested a decoction of briar roots, which, however Berkeley did not find successful, and offered instead Tar-water which he " found to be a powerful corrector of putrid humours." In 1744 Berkeley published *A Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar-Water*, better known as *Siris ;* its success was immediate. " Not only did people buy the book, " writes George Sampson, " but they drank the tar-water." The rapid sale of tar-water alarmed the physicians, and the book was loudly denounced. " Berkeley's advocacy of tar-water," Luce writes, " was no casual philanthropy, but an extension of the movement for agricultural and industrial development and general social welfare." Prior must have at least perceived it in this light, and thus Luce tells us : " His (Berkeley's) Dublin friends, Prior and Faulkner, stood by him through thick and thin. Prior, was, of course, acting in an unofficial capacity, but he was at that time secretary of the Dublin Society, and his public action at this juncture in connection with public health were so strong and striking, we may be sure, they must have been in general accord with the policy of the Society he represented." During the controversy Prior contributed a number of letters to the daily press in defence of tar-water, and early in 1746 published a book, *An Authentick Narrative of the Success of Tar-Water*. This book of Prior's sets down factually proven cures from the use of tar-water ; it is typical of Prior's literary work, bare facts carefully tabulated.

Prior's interest in public health, however, went further than the advocacy of the use of tar-water. From the outset he actively supported the efforts of Bartholmew Mosse in the foundation of the Lying-in Hospital in George's Lane, which later became the Rotunda Hospital. He was one of the five Directors entrusted with the care of the hospital and when Mosse acquired a new site at the Rotunda Gardens he appointed Prior and two of his associate directors as trustees.

The outbreak of the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1745 occasioned rtain amount of uneasiness among the Anglo-Irish who feared an sing of the sons and grandsons of the dispossessed Catholics. Ireland ained quiet and peaceful, however, due to the fact that the majority atholics were incapable of fighting, and also the fact that Viceroy, sterfield, was a relatively just and humane man. The more liberal-ded Irishmen such as Prior, Madden and Berkeley realized that nd had a friend in the Viceroy, who in later years wrote to Prior asked to be remembered as the Irish Lord Lieutenant and not as the l Lieutenant of Ireland. Chesterfield was instrumental in obtaining ant for the Dublin Society. In the course of a letter to the Duke of rcastle requesting a bounty, he wrote : " The Dublin Society is y a very useful establishment. It consists of many considerable ple, and has been kept up hitherto by voluntary subscriptions. They premiums for the improvement of land, for plantations, for manu-ures. They furnish many materials for these improvements in the and less cultivated parts of the Kingdom, and have certainly done a t deal of good. The bounty they apply for to His Majesty is five dred pounds a year, which, in my humble opinion, would be properly owed." Some months later Chesterfield was able to show Prior the g's letter granting the bounty.

Chesterfield's period of office was short, but during that time he formed a opinion of Prior. On his recall to England he kept up a fairly constant espondence with Prior whom he describes " as one of the few in nd who always thinks of the public, without any mixture of private est." In the course of an interview with the Bishop of Gloucester earn that Chesterfield expressed his " good esteem of Mr. Prior and haracter, and commended him as one who had no view in life, but o the utmost good he is capable of."

From 1746 onward Prior corresponded frequently with Chesterfield, nitting to him printed lists of premiums to be awarded by the Society, rting progress with new industries, and sending samples of newly ufactured paper. Chesterfield in his replies offered friendly and ful criticism ; he suggested new industrial ventures, and commented n the immoderate and shameful living of the upper classes. Chester-invariably addressed Prior as " My good friend," and even in his rs to Madden he always ended with solicitious enquiries about r's health.

One of the most remarkable effects of Prior's teaching and writing ill preserved for us in a little known pamphlet. *A Letter from Sir ard Cox to Thomas Prior Esq., showing from Experience a Sure Method stablishing Linen Manufactures and the Beneficial Effects thereof.* The behind this pamphlet is interesting. Cox, as a young man, lived usly with no concern for the welfare of his tenants, yet within a few

years he changed the entire face of the countryside around Dunmanway. Large areas of land were devoted to the cultivation of flax mills, a spinning school for boys and girls, bleach yards, a market house and schools were erected ; instructors were brought from the north of Ireland and premiums were awarded for spinning, weaving and such-like. From 1746 to 1748 more than forty thousand yards of linen was produced to the value of £2,670, and three hundred inhabitants were dependent upon the newly established linen industry. In acknowledging his indebtedness to Prior, Cox writes : " I think you will find sundry clear proofs of the usefulness of some of these precepts which you have given to the public."

In 1749 Prior published *An Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen Manufactures in Ireland by Premiums and other Means*, based on the practical results of Sir Richard Cox's experiment. The pamphlet is typical of the matter-of-fact Prior, and he reminds his readers that " the wealth of every country ariseth from the labour and industry of its inhabitants," adding, " where the generality of the people are employed in useful works, they all thrive and the country grows more populous and improves." In this pamphlet he strongly advocates the growing of flax and the setting up of linen manufactures in areas where industry does not exist, so as to provide additional work for farm labourers.

In the summer of 1751 Prior retired to his estate at Rathdowney; in the autumn of that year his health failed, and he died there after " a tedious fit of illness." Prior was buried in the local church-yard on the 25th October, and on the pleasant monument marking his last resting place we read : Sacred to the memory of Thomas Prior Esq., who spent a long life in unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his country. Every manufacture, every branch of husbandry, will declare this truth. Every useful Institution will lament its Friend and Benefactor. He died alas ! too soon for Ireland. October 21st, 1751. Aged 70.

Among his contemporaries Prior stands out uniquely as one of the few who sought neither place, patronage nor honour. So far as we know he showed little interest in party politics. No doubt this indifference to public honours, the rewards of high office and apparent lack of political affiliations was well-known and commented upon by Chesterfield, who wrote of " my good friend Mr. Prior, the disinterested patron of all good and useful things." In a letter to Prior he said, " I repeat again that there are not many people who like you, employ their labour merely for the public good without any private view. The condition of Ireland sufficiently proves that." Faulkner wrote in a similiar vein when he recorded the passing of a great man. Berkeley took pains to stress it when he composed his inscription to " that worthy patriot to whom his own actions and unwearied endeavours in the service of his country have raised a monument more lasting than marble."

DESMOND J. CLARKE

WERNER BERGENGRUEN—POET OF A THREATENED GENERATION

BY PAMELA REILLY
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HE name Werner Bergengruen is familiar to few in these islands. Even the minority interested in modern German literature know mainly as the author of the lyric cycle *Dies Irae*. Fine as this wartime position " poetry undoubtedly is, it is by no means as significant ie religious lyrics, some short stories and two novels *Der Grosstyrann das Gericht* and *Am Himmel wie auf Erden*. By such work Bergengruen nown in Switzerland and Germany.

first heard his name in Zürich in 1946. At that time Switzerland, only German-speaking country practicable for the average foreigner, cted students from all parts of the world. Bergengruen was introduced s as a modern German writer, and he read us some of his lyrics and a t story. The impression made on me at the time was one of controlled gy, deceptive simplicity concealing great art, sincerity, and a certain thern reserve. In the following year I went to Munich. The German ents with whom I came into contact, their minds swept and garnished lusions, were seeking desperately for some philosophy to support them ugh desolation of mind and heart. They rejected glib and easy solutions ieir many problems, and, because Bergengruen shuns facile optimism, ad much to say to them. His knowledge of the existence of evil and essential insecurity of man was shared by his fellow countrymen; he sought refuge neither in despair nor nihilism. Believing as he does God's purpose for the world, he accepts everything—apparent evil ell as good—as part of the eternal plan. By thus accepting fear, conquers it. The message is more immediate for those peoples who survived material and spiritual defeat, but it has validity for us all.

I

Bergengruen dislikes the autobiographical and asks us to believe that ything about him of interest to the ordinary reader is contained in vork. But, because his background is interesting in itself and important ie formation of his philosophy, a short account of it may not come amiss. He was born in Riga on 16th September, 1892. The city, at that time capital of the Russian province of Livonia, was outside Germany er and, although the German was by far the strongest of the various l strains, it was not the only one. A Swedish element was also impor- and Bergengruen's own family were of Swedish origin. The last

syllable of his name has nothing to do with the German " grün ", but comes from the Swedish " gren ", a branch. The Bergengruen family had deep roots in the community. Many of the writer's ancestors, he tells us, are remembered in the Eastern provinces, but few of their names would mean anything to a dweller in Germany itself. Among the exceptions are people like Herder's friend Berens and the Barclay de Tolly who figures in Tolstoi's *War and Peace*. There is a family connection, but no more, with Goethe: Bergengruen expressly denies relationship. Coming nearer our own time, the poet's grandfather was an Elder of the " Grosse Gilde " and founder of the Alexander Bergengruen Infirmary. Perhaps he passed on his interest in the sick to Bergengruen's father, who became a doctor, obtaining the right to practice not only at home, but in Germany and Austria-Hungary. Young Werner grew up in a patriarchal bourgeois-aristocratic atmosphere, strong, deeply-rooted, apparently unchangeable. He describes the house where he was born and spent his early childhood: " a huge, gloomy stone building of the baroque period ", whose thick walls kept out winter's cold and summer's heat, but also any ray of the sun. Unhygienic, gloomy and soaked in tradition, the child loved it. It was torn down at the beginning of the first World War—a change perhaps symbolic of the disruption brought to the lives of those who had lived there. From the University—he studied in Marburg, Berlin and Munich—Bergengruen joined the German Army and fought, not only during the four years of war, but afterwards against the Red Army in the Baltic *Landeswehr*. His family had been deeply touched by war—his brothers had been killed, and three uncles had perished in the post-war struggle against Russia. The complete disappearance of his serene pre-war life is, perhaps, best shown in his description of the fate of the country-house where the family had spent its summers. Not only was it totally destroyed, but the landscape around was so changed that even the place where it had stood could not be definitely established. His fighting done, Bergengruen turned to journalism and, in the early twenties, he came to Berlin of the hectic inflation period, recording some of what he saw in the early novel *Der goldene Griffel*. In his first novel he had written that he felt more at home in the Catholic than in the Protestant church, because here no interpreter pushed his way in between God and the believer, and, in the year 1936, he became a Catholic. In the following year, he moved to Solln near Munich, choosing Bavaria as his second home as had Thomas Mann, another German writer with a similar traditional background. In the same year (1937), he was expelled from the *Reichsschriftumskammer*, having previously been forbidden to broadcast or lecture. Later, however, he was allowed to write under certain limitations. Solln proved no safe abiding place; in 1942 it was destroyed in an air raid. This time Bergengruen went to Achensee in the Tyrol. To 1944 belong the verses against the National Socialist regime; first

lated secretly from hand to hand and published after the war under itle *Dies Irae*, they stand out in that dark period as being neither ighteous nor bitter. In 1945 Bergengruen removed to Switzerland. Ie is a prolific writer. His latest critic, Hans Bänziger, devotes n pages of his bibliography—for whose incompleteness he apologizes—ergengruen's original work, and divides another page between his lations—mostly from the Russian—Tolstoi, Turjenev, Dostojewski—editorial work. A short account of his literary career must, therefore, selective.

With his background it is not surprising that one of the chief motifs ergengruen's work is the transience of human things and the constant at to man from outside forces beyond his control. These ideas are odied in the two novels *The Tyrant and the Judgement* (*Der Grosstyrann das Gericht*, 1935) and *In Heaven as on Earth* (*Am Himmel wie auf n*, 1940). They are both historical novels. The setting of the first n an Italian town in a period before the cleavage in religious f, "the fourteenth or fifteenth century at the latest"; the action e second takes place in Berlin in 1524. The choice of historical themes ot escapism. In the insecurity of modern life, the writer turns to that h can neither be shaken nor changed, because it has already happened is there, complete, immutable, immemorial. Perhaps it was the same nct which led Bergengruen to Catholicism. There is no nostalgia he past, which is presented as something no less terrible than the ent, but the threat has passed and the world has gone on its way; ein lies consolation. For Bergengruen's people their danger is real they react to it, each in his own way. The threat may be of death, shment, disgrace, loss of worldly goods or of standing in the community, whatever it is, it tears down the facade of ordinary life, with its con-ions, little duties and daily round. The threatened is left alone with elf and must fall back on his own inborn qualities—courage or cowar-strength or weakness, sin or saintliness. Men reveal themselves as are. The revelation may be dreadful, but it may also be beautiful. oli in *The Tyrant and the Judgement* is ready to save his life at all , but Sperone, in the same novel, is ready to die, that his fellow-smen may be freed from fear. The plot is uncomplicated. A political t of the Tyrant is murdered. Nespoli, the chief of the Secret Police, dered to find the murderer or forfeit his own life. More and more le are drawn into the orbit of the search, neither the living nor the are spared, and a miasma of fear hangs over the city. Sperone, a le man, looked up to by some for his holiness, is horrified by what is ening, and, in order to put an end to fear, confesses to the murder. Tyrant summons those most concerned in the inquiry to judgment admits that he himself killed his agent for political reasons. It had ed him to play cat and mouse with his subjects, but simplicity had

broken down his deviousness. The novel ends in an atmosphere of forgiveness and heart-searching; and those concerned go their ways to take up the thread of life anew, for that is required of them. Nearly everyone has revealed the baser side of his nature, yet the effect is not one of pessimism, nor is it meant to be so. Bergengruen's people are always deeply human and the human being is never perfect. The trial through which they have passed helps them to realize their faultiness and to turn to God in humility and contrition. Even the tyrant's vulnerability is made clear to him. Don Lucca, a priest, who has himself been tempted to break the seal of confession, shows his cold juggling with the minds and hearts of his subjects as a desire to be like God, and the Tyrant, shamed by Sperone's loving readiness for self-sacrifice, admits this. But even Sperone is not unthreatened. A man like other men, he goes out from the judgement with the rest of his life still before him to make or mar. On him also, Don Lucca passes judgement. He may end at the stake, or be raised to the altars of the Church. The story is told, Bergengruen writes, " in such a way that our faith in human perfection must be forfeited. Perhaps, in its place, will come belief in human imperfection; for in nothing other than this belief can our perfection consist." One fear has been lifted by Sperone's action; but fear itself is always there. It can be conquered, but only by love.

II

The motto of *The Tyrant and the Judgment* was " And lead us not into temptation " that of *In Heaven as on Earth* is " Fear ye not ". Here the expected catastrophe is not caused by man and, in fact, never comes to pass. Dr. Carion, court astrologer of the Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg, predicts a deluge on 15th June 1524, which is to destroy Berlin and Kölln. Only the Elector knows of this, but he brings a third into the secret, by confiding in the young chamberlain, Ellnhofen. Although he exacts strictest secrecy, rumours begin to spread among the people and the most desperate measures are resorted to. Arks are built, until forbidden by edict; apprentices and workmen leave their employment at will; land is sold at a fantastically low price, gold and jewels become more precious than ever; there is a frenzy to get rid of such possessions as cannot be carried; beasts are slaughtered out of season and every desire is immediately satisfied. Ellnhofen makes no effort to save himself, nor does he reveal what he has been told to anyone, but he does see that his fiancée, Juliane, is brought into safety, without, however, telling her his reason. The Elector, driven to breaking point by the press of events, looks on this as the breach of faith it technically is, and Ellnhofen is executed. Ironically, however, the Elector himself yields to the general panic and leaves the city he believes doomed, only to conquer himself and return to be with

people in their danger. Two people—Carion and the Wendish coachman —rise above fear. Juro seems untouched by it ; he moves through story, calm, purposeful and quietly self-confident, as if drawing solace n some inner source. He it is who knows the Elector's desire to return, ost before Joachim had consciously formulated it to himself. He ot be conquered by temptation ; only brute force can overcome him the way back to Berlin he is struck by lightning and killed. This, n, is in harmony with Bergengruen's philosophy. Even the pure in t is not safe. We feel, however, that in death Juro is triumphant ion's is a more complicated nature which does yield to fear, but, heroic self-discipline, overcomes it. He is prey to two fears— , the general one of the deluge, and, then, when he has subdued this d, a harder test is imposed on him. A leper flings his glove in his and Carion is racked by the ever-present threat of infection. The ple are delivered from their panic when the expected flood does not e, but Carion's private dread will haunt him till he dies. Yet it is left im, threatened as he is, to close the novel with the words " All the ks of God are pleasing to me in Heaven as on earth." An acceptance, for fear, too, is the will of God ; in the love he bears all things, ion will find the antidote to it. Before his death, Ellnhofen realizes his love for Juliane was not perfect for " perfect love casteth out fear ". gengruen seems at times to endorse the philosophy of Carion's old her, who has so little time left on earth that she realizes the futility retting and submits in perfect quiescence to events as they come. This gentle resignation is not fatalism, but a realization that we are all ne in the hands of God. The note of reassurance is heard again and n in Bergengruen's poems. Man should be proud, since he is born, for this world but for Eternity. The word *Ewigkeit* seems to inate the poet ; one comes on it again and again. " Through all thy s thou art/Child of Eternity." " Thou hast Eternity ". " Behind this traverse/Eternity is spread/And Eternity is long." Man is encouraged ink into God ; it is a " perishing into reality " such as Yeats never nt. " Give thyself to the hidden hand/Which has touched thee ;/ from the edge of the tomb/Go. Thou art led." " Thou, born to dom, up, and fear not/The Virgin bore a son. The light increases." od is evoked as a continually watching presence ; in one poem, gengruen images the blood of Christ saturating all things. But perfect is essential ; man must trust himself wholly to God, neither making ditions nor seeking reassurances beforehand. The angel tells the soul it must be like Peter and try if the waves will bear it up ; " Whether Lord will come towards you/I know not, and you must not ask me." content of Bergengruen's poems is mostly religious but the half- ld of myth and legend often intrudes. Like many who are heirs to tradition of the country rather than the town—the poet tells us that

even the Baltic cities smack of the country—he has a fondness for the gnomes and harmless familiar spirits who, in return for their due portion of food and drink, bring the children happy dreams and watch over them when waking, see that the sap rises in the garden plants and generally have an eye to household things. It seems hardly conceiveable that one critic writes of Bergengruen's " paganism ", taking this kindly folklore as a basis. The child in Bergengruen speaks here, as in the charmingly simple Christmas songs ; in one of these the shepherds are pictured standing irresolute and clumsy before the crib, until one of them, " who brews the secret brandy wine ", plucks up courage to speak ; " 'We have not always been good/Dear Child/But just look kindly on us/Come, do it quickly ' ". The Child laughs and blesses them, while Joseph and Mary look on smiling ; and, at last, the clumsy shepherds find it easy to kneel.

From the beginning of his career Bergengruen has written short stories, but, with the years, his craft has improved. Now his work in this genre has a deceptive bareness, a pruning of superfluous ornament, which sometimes blinds the careless reader to its high art. As far as I know, no selective edition of Bergengruen's stories has appeared ; this is a pity, for the best are models of their kind. Some are fantasies like the charming fairy-tale *The Spanish rosetree*, (1935) an allegory of true love ; or *Der Kaiser in Elend* (1933) which treats a Christian legend, and is an instance of apparent evil bringing forth good. This also is the message of *Treasure-seeker's Story* (1942), where the malicious plan to befool the Bonapartist, Bicorne, by sending him to dig for a non-existent treasure is frustrated. Bicorne actually *does* find a treasure, and, better still, the pity of a girl who reveals the plot to him turns into love ; from being poor and lonely, he becomes rich and happy. This is an example of a gift given freely from God, but, often, Bergengruen lets the people in his stories be instruments of Divine Providence. An example of this is the short story *Three Falcons* (1937). A falconer dies, leaving his three valuable falcons to be sold. The price of the first is to go to his creditors, and, if any money be over, to the poor. That of the second is to go to the Convent of the Holy Ghost for masses for his soul. That of the third is to be divided among his heirs. These are his daughter-in-law, who, on her husband's death, has married a rich silk-merchant ; her husband ; and a lame beggar, Cecco, who, it is now revealed, was the falconer's son. One of the birds escapes, but the Prior renounces his part of the inheritance ; the remaining two, therefore, are destined for the creditors and the heirs. On the day of the auction, the third bird is recovered ; the Prior, however, still refuses to accept the money " his " falcon brings, and makes it over to the poor. Cecco takes the third bird on his wrist, and, for the first time, many notice a likeness to his father. Something in the falcon—its independence and pride—appeals to him. He thinks of the greed and concentration on worldly motives which have played so

rtant a part in his life, since he learned of his inheritance. He is with disgust that " this piece of free and godlike life should be ced to a cause of bargaining and quarrelling, disgust, that everything ld have a market value, terror, that all this mercenary squabbling endeavouring to absorb him and, that perhaps his whole future life d be taken up with this world of market price and salability." Deliber- he loosens the falcon's fetters, raises his arm and lets it go. The d is astonished ; Albinelli, the master of the falcon Brotherhood, had hoped to possess the bird, is, at first, bitterly disappointed ; because he too loves the nobility and beauty of the falcon, he is able derstand Cecco's action. Something, he tells the falconer's son, idden in the human heart which corresponds to the character of the n. Loosing the silver chain of the Brotherhood from his own neck, uts it around that of the erstwhile beggar. The crowd are silent, " reverence, shame or exaltation." Cecco's change of heart is a ning-point " in a far deeper sense than the *Wendepunkt* advocated by theorists of the short story as Heyse and Tieck. Here it is not merely estion of the writer's craft, bnt an instance of the workings of grace. arently without motivation a ray of light falls on a human soul and, brilliance, he sees the pettiness of his own concerns. Cecco accepts mplications of his revelation by freeing the falcon. Albinelli's gesture, is an example of the transcendence of personal desire. Both have materially, but the spiritual gain has been immense. An optimistic lusion, in the best sense of the word ; and optimism is often felt rgengruen's short stories, although neither violence nor sin are lacking. ie novels, man was the threatened ; in the short stories, he is the ient of grace. And yet, the difference is only apparent. For what in the long run, which motivates Sperone's sacrifice, changes the of the Tyrant, raises up Juro to be an instrument of the Elector's r self and confirms Carion's steadfastness ? All Bergengruen's le, saints, sinners, and ordinary mortals, live continually in the loving nce of God, whether they realize it or not ; if exposed to dark powers, are also susceptible to grace. Bergengruen can speak with authority is threatened generation, because he understands the enormity of nger ; but beyond it, he recognizes the power which gives strength.

PAMELA REILLY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

XCIX.—A POET ANSWERS HIS CRITIC

FEAR FEASA Ó'N CHÁINTE .cc.

1. Créad dá sealbhuinn damh an dán,
a fhir do thairg mo thochrádh ?
cuma dhuitse cia dan ceart
go ria do thuigse a ttreiseacht.

2. Dá roinntí dán an domhain
ar oidibh ar adhbhoruibh
nocho tháir do thuigse bhog ;
ní náir duitse do dhearmod.

3. A-tá mo lámh is mo laoidh
mar fhiadhnaise orm d'aontaoibh ;
más é a ttagruim do(-ard) th'olc
admhuim go hard a n-éabhart

4. A-dubhart—dleacht a rádha—
baoth don dreim nach diongmhála
car re céadfaidh mo cheirde,
téachtmhuir glan na Gaoidheilge.

5. Gach aonchúis fhoghnas don dán
a-tá liom—lór dom neamhthár,
neamhthais an mhaith re maoidheamh—
do sgaith sheanchais shaorGhaoidheal.

6. (Gidh mór sin) an seanchas féin
(beag) nar airléaghas ainnséin ;
beag mo cheas trá ar a thighibh,
do bhá treas dá thaithighidh.

7. Ní dhéanabh cainnt seocha sain,
go bhfuilim inghill ionntaibh,
na leabhair do léaghadh liom,
ní shéanabh d'fhearaibh Éireann.

8. Do thógbhas ó tharla rum
seanrann do-ríneadh romham :
" neach fein go mór dá mholadh
céim as lór dá lochtoghadh ".

9. Níor shealbhas acht do shaoidhibh
dán an iomhois fhorraoinigh ;
beag an mhaoidhimh, a Dhé, dhamh
mé do shaoidhibh dam shealbhadh.

10. Am shaoith do mheasas mhé féin
a measg oideadh n-iuil doiléir ;
gar mheisde mé dá mheas sin
óir nar cheas é ar na hoidibh.

11. An tan nach teilgfinn acht daoi
's nach méadóchuinn acht mórshaoi,
ó nach saith as dleisde dul,
gar mheisde an mhaith do mholadh ?

12. Aithnim (ór) admhuigh tusa
nach d'aos iuil an (iomhusa),
ná don droing dhiongmhála sibh
led dhoirr n-iolghránna n-aidhbhsigh.

13. Do bhí dhuit ris na daoidhibh
dul 'n-a gcath do chéaddaoinibh,
biodh nar cheard éirghe as a n-ucht,
ní fearg dhéinmhe do dhásacht.

14. Do chuiris iad a n-umhlacht
ná taitnionn re tuathumhlacht
deilbh shaoroige rú na ribh ;
is tú as aonoide uaisdibh.

15. Tugais tathaoir nar thugtha
le daoitheamhlacht dúbulta
(don) fhuirm sin mo rann roibheacht
's gan ann sin acht sruthoireacht.

16. Do chumuis do chomhrádh bhog,
mar do bheath a fhios agod,
ní nar ionráidh rem oige
ar tí iomráidh t'fhochroige.

17. D'éis do labhra a los goimhe
ní dubhairt tú, a thrudoire,
acht ní as eagal ar rádh ribh
ad dhán 'n-a theagar tuaithbhil.

18. Dá ttuillinn mar nar thuillios
guin m'aighthe tre fhábhuillfhios
dom chailg do badh doiligh dul ;
mairg rom oiligh gan adhbhar.

19. I n-a bheathaidh dá mbeadh soin
t'athair beag Brian an bhaothroidh
sár ar laoidhibh ní léamhadh ;
dán aoinfhir ní oirléaghadh.

20. Buain fam inghreim olc fuarais,
ort do chlé is do challuabhais ;
teacht le nimh ttnúidh dom thinnmhe
fa úir libh ní leigfimne.

21. Do chréim ní cuirthe a n-umhuil,
ní nach annamh fhuarubhuir ;
ró sáir ar aba th'oile
fada táir, a thrudoire.

22. Led ghoin ní gabhtha beadhgadh,
ní fhuil fheidhm ar th'imdheargadh,
ní ar (talamh) ní toibhéim lat,
doimhéin a (n-aghar) ionnat.

23. Níor dhóigh lèat, a lámh dhona,
nar anbháil an ealodha
mar do labhrais do sheinm sháir
ar dheilbh n-abhrais 's ar úcáil.

24. Ní hionann 's do nheilt mhuilinn
na tiomsuighthe thiomsuighim
a n-ionbhaidh m'ionnsuighthe ort ;
ni tiomsuighthe gan tábhocht.

25. An phearsa (duir) ailm oile
cread é a substainnt síorroidhe ;
tar cheann t'aitheisg gan fhoirm n-uill
as roicheisd oirbh a n-abruim.

26. Ní haithne dhuit mar is dleacht
ifín amharcholl d'éifeacht,
náid na feadha is cóir 'n-a gcionn
eabha ná óir ná uillionn.

27. An dà nion aithbheach oile
nó an ceann-fo-chrois cialloidhe
ní feas doid, a dhaoi lochtach;
do throid ar aoi as iomarcach.

28. Ní thug tú a toigh na sgoile
créad fa ngoirthear guthoighe,
ná (réim) as doirche dluighe
choidhche ná (a) céill connsuine.

29. Gá méad iairmbéarla uile
labhruid an t-aos eagnuidhe?
bíodh nach teisd choimse [an cadádh]
is ceisd oirbhse, a amadán.

30. Créad é iairmbéarla re rádh?
ní feas duit dia dod rothár,
acht iarraidh ar nach antair
ar chiallaibh a ccongantaibh.

31. An gramatach glacthar libh
ní fhidir tú—as taom tuisil—
ná an tí as sia do lean dod cheird
cia do (gheabh) annsa nGaoidheilg.

32. Ní haithmhéalach ionnta sibh
le neart ainbhfis at innibh,
ní reiche, trá tar do thapadh,
na neithe a-tá a ttréasfhacal.

33. Níor thógbhais eisdibh aiceacht
Agallaimh ná Úraiceapt
acht, mearfuil tar chéill dod char,
(dod) réir theannchuir na ttuathadh.

34. Bíodh gurab éadtrom iad so,
a-taoi ainbhfiosach ionnta,
ní reiche choidhche 'n-a ccionn,
na neithe doirche a-deiriom.

35. Gach ní 's a ainbhfios fhuil ort
a-tá—ní tairm gan tábhocht—
na rolla a bhfoghthuir ar fad
um fhochruibh sonna sealad.

36. Mar badh tusa an tobar fis
nach mór an t-adhbhar aithis
do thoirm mar gach ndaoidh san dán
's gan d'fhoirm at (aoibh) acht anál.

37. Le hadhbhar nó gan fhachain
níor bharr aonshaoi m'ealathain;
truagh saoithe óm thagra 'n-a ttocht,
's madra gaoithe dá ngreasocht.

38. Amhasdrach dá eagla féin
do-ní an madra le míchéill;
nó go dtarraing air an t-olc
dá thail ní fhaghbhaim annsocht.

39. Búireadh an buineán léana
a n-ionadhaibh uaithmléala,
gi bé aitreabh i n-a n-an
ní faicthear é acht go hannamh.

40. Mac alla na n-alt ndorcha
labhraidh sé go siabhartha,
gé do-ní ábhacht re headh;
ní bhí tábhacht 'n-a thairmsean.

41. Tusa do bheith beo nó marbh
ní fios . . .
gur thairnngis léim m'fheirge ort
led ghéim ngeirge dam ghreasocht.

42. Iosdadh cúthuil do chleachtais,
fada uait na hoireachtais;
ar nglacadh t'aighnis 'n-a oil
bacadh th' ainbhfis ní fhéadoir.

43. Truagh ná fuil d'fhiachaibh oruibh
let ainbhios gan ealodhain
saighidh go hárainn fhóid Bhreagh
a dtárainn na ccóig ccóigeadh.

44. Saoth lem meanma dar mó móid
nach saoi a-tá ad chuid don chuspóid;
olc linn ar malairt dá mhéid
sinn do labhairt led leithéid.

45. Fuair tú tuisleadh fad ghrádhaibh
ar gcaill ar do chéaddálaibh;
bíodh gur chná hoige m'anaimse
do bhá am oide agaibhse.

46. A-tá gléas an gha bolga
dá dtiocfadh haoi d'ionnarba,
gléas mhairbheas roghoimh do rann
'n-a fhailgheas oraibh agam.

47. An lá ba lia na sgola
nó ba aibche an ealodha
ar bhfagháil ghill gér liach libh
do bhiath sinn ar na saoithibh.

48. Ní dhéanaim acht dioghluim ghlan
nó go ndioghluighim m'fhoghmhar;
cúis fhorbhtha leagar am leith
mo theagar bhfromhtha fírbhreith.

49. M'ionnlach dá thaobh ní thuillim;
bídh an dioghluim dhioghluighim
am dhiaidh gan léas gan lochta
ná déas fhiaidh ná fhoghalta.

50. Do-chuala—ní cúis fhortuil—
t'iomad ainmne ar iollochtaibh;
adhbhar magaidh soin fa seach
's nach foil agaibh acht éitheach.

51. Gnás ná caoiche níor chumas
im dhán ní fhuil ionannas;
ní fhuil searbhrádh ná gnúis gharg;
neamhnár dom chúis an comharg

52. (Nochan uil) gnúis as ghairbhe,
ná inneach as éadaingne,
ná a snas ar a sníomh (nach fuil);
is glas an sníomh an sníomhsoin.

53. Nír léaghais i ló a bhfighe
ceathramha 'n-a claoinfhighe
—a-dréacht mo ghaos tar do ghoimh—
ná maos i ndréacht dom dhréachtoibh.

54. A-táid na molta i modh chóir,
ní fhuil ailm i n-áit éagcóir,
ní fhuil onn acht 'n-a ionadh,
[i] sonn ní fhuil oibrioghadh.

55. Do (shnáth) meallach nó gan mheall,
do (shnáth) géar neamhúr neimhghearr,
cainnt bhorrfaidh gan eagna n-uill,
freagra orthaibh ní obruim.

56. Mas í an imirt as éigse,
mas í an chaint a choimhéidse,
beag mo shainnt i slimbeirt sonn,
an chaint 's an imbeirt agom.

57. A fuirm éidigh bhur ndealbha
tuigfid saoithe saoitheamhla
nach sgoláir ná oide ibh
ronáir t'oige idir éigsibh.

58. Ní léir dhuit do dhíoth aithne
ná fuil 'n-a dhréacht dearsgnaighthe
do dhán fann as amh ughdar
gan ann acht car comhurdadh.

59. (Éabhadh) gan cheart gan chuma ;
(cuma is) eidir eatorra
mairg, a Dhé, dán dod dhán
ní dán é agus ní habhrán.

60. Focail tréithe gan taca,
focail bhoga bunata,
ní gléas cosnaimh leath ar leath
fan ngréas n-omhsoin acht inneach.

61. Focal barbardha as bheag sult,
mionfhocal nach mór tábhacht,
foirm bhaoth as ronár do reic,
ad rabhán maoth is meineic.

62. Tuigse 'n-a tuigse ghloine
níor bharrsad ar mbriathroine ;
ní fearr tuigse do throd rinn
bog do chuidse don chointinn.

63. Mar mheasuim giodh mór do chaint,
ní fhuil siansa ná substainnt
a ní ar bioth dar labhradh libh
acht rioth amhghlan at fhuighlibh.

64. Mór an sruith oidis fhoirbhthe
mór bhfealmhac bhféith bhfaobhoirthe
as fhearr iná thú ar mo thréad
as gheall rem chlú do choimhéad.

65. Éagcóir nar anuis ad thosd,
acht nach gabhann trú teagosg,
gan bhuain a ttreas oideadh n-áith
nar mheas croideamh do chomhráith.

66. Giodh dóigh leat fein go bhfuile
at fhoghluinntidh eagnuidhe,
mar gach leanbhán lór do ghuth
mór dod leamhdhán is lochtach.

67. Tathaoir m'éigse gan fhalaidh
más go héigceart fhuaramair
—ná raibh rath go héag oruibh—
bréag gan dath a-dubhrobhuir.

68. A bhaird gan an mbairdneacht féin,
a abhlóir bhig, a bheigéir,
mar shruth ngarg gidh teann a-taoi
do gheall lem bard do-béarthaoi.

Créad

Translation

What if I do make claim to the poetic art ? The question as to who can make this claim does not concern you—until that talent of yours, my troublesome friend, improve very much !

Were all existing poetry ascribed to its authors, whether masters or pupils, the list would not include your stupid work ; to leave you out would not be to insult you !

All I have ever written bears me witness ; even if what I say annoys you I assert aloud every word of it.

4. I said—and I was right in saying it—it is folly for unqualified folk to try to comprehend my sphere of art, the shining ice-bound sea of Gaoidhealg.

5. Everything in the best tradition of the noble Gaoidhil which can serve in poetry is possessed by me—I am not ashamed to say so ; no feeble thing to boast of is that excellence.

6. Extensive as is the ancient lore, there is little in it I have not read ; I have no difficulty in finding my way in those halls of learning, I have dwelt for long in them.

7. I content myself with saying that I am well versed in the books I have read ; I would not deny this in front of all the men of Éire.

8. That old adage (which you mention), " self-praise provokes dispraise ", I have come across it and have dwelt on it.

9. It is exclusively from sages' teaching that I have acquired my poetry with its wide-ranging lore ; 'tis an understatement to say that I am recognised by all sages.

10. Conversing with the masters of mysterious lore, I always took my rank as a sage, why not ? They made no objection.

11. 'Tis only ignoramuses I attack, and only sages that I eulogise ; Where is the harm in eulogising excellence (in myself) ? As it is not wrong, I may continue to do so ?

12. From the qualities you (unknowingly) reveal in that nasty noisy abuse of yours I conclude that you are not one of the folk who are learned in lore or fitted for poetry.

13. You had to be among the first to join the ignoramuses in their battle-rank ; 'twas not your way to keep away from them (?), yet your anger was not a poet's frenzy.

14. You are become their great teacher and have forced your views on them, and so the style of good poetry is not rough enough for them or for you ?

15. With concentrated vulgarity, mere vagrant's verse, you have abused—most wrongfully—the style of my careful stanzas.

16. Pretending to understand my work, you wrote in your clumsy style an unjust criticism of it—just to have your paid work spoken of ?

17. In the spiteful language of your topsy-turvey poems you, you squabbling fellow, say just the things that are likely to be said about yourself.

18. Even if I did deserve—as I do not—to have my face scorched by satire 'twere dangerous to attack me ; anyone who reviles me without cause will pay for it.

19. Were your poor father, " silly-speech " Brian, alive, he would not dare to criticise poems ; he could not have read anyone's poem !

20. You made a mistake in attacking me ; your clumsiness (?) and your . . . (?) recoil on yourself ; I wont let go unpunished that attack you made on me in envious spite.

21. You don't mind being crushed—having been so often crushed, you babbler ; you shall always be in disgrace for your nastiness.

22. To see you wounded will shock no one, no one will feel sorry to see you shame-scorched ; there is no kind of treatment which you should consider an insult, your whole nature is so evil.

23. You had some idea, you poor botch, that poetry was something difficult (?) when in your execrable rime you spoke of " making yarn " and " tucking cloth ".

24. Different from the products of your milling are the phrases I pile up—and to some purpose—when attacking you.

What is the constant character of a verb in *da-* ? This is a complete puzzle for you, not to speak of other things in your mis-shapen style.

You have no thorough knowledge of the forms of *ifín* and *amharcholl*, nor of the letters which make up *eabha* and *óir* and *uilleann*.

You dont know, you blundering dunce, about the two mutable *n*'s, nor about the handy *ceann-fa-chrois* (i.e. curved figure filling in line) ; for you therefore to engage in any discussion is great presumption.

You have not brought from the school-house the knowledge of what a vowel means, or a *réim* with its obscure subdivisions (?) and its consonant-sense (i.e. meaning of *réim consuine*).

How many in all are the *iairmbéarla*'s told of by sages ? Though delenition is a thing with plenty of witnesses for it, it is a mystery for you, you fool.

How define an *iairmbéarla* ? You can make no attempt—at least only an unsatisfactory one—to explain the functions of vowel-supports ; this is a disgrace for thee.

As for the grammar you do with, you do not know—this is a part of your stumbling way—who was the first to devise it in Gaoidhealg, or who went deepest in exploring your own art.

Owing to the crass emptiness of your head you fail to use, in spite of all your flurry, the things that go to make language emphatic, and your failure with them causes you no qualms !

You have never learnt a lesson from the " Agallaimh " or the " Uraiceapt ", but mistakes make you unintelligible, as though a clodhopper's pincers (?) were your instrument.

Though the difficulties I mention are only small points, you dont know about them and can never get to know them.

The documents in which are to be found all the things of which you are ignorant have been long familiar to me here, and this is no empty boast.

Your claim—as that of all the other ignorant poets—to be " a well of learning " while you have nothing inside you but wind—is it not contemptible ?

No sages ever objected—with or without reason—to my work ; sorry would have been their plight had I attacked them, making them helpless and worrying them like a mad dog.

A dog is silly to bark when he has only himself to be afraid of; I don't like to see him doing it until danger threatens him.

Let the bittern go on booming in lonely places ; wherever it dwells, the bird itself is rarely seen.

An echo from some lowering cliff speaks in strange fashion, and at times seems to make jokes, but there is no real meaning in the sound.

No one . . . whether you were alive or dead until you provoked me with your . . . (?) —cry and brought down my angry swoop on you.

Your way of life was always a poor one, great folks keeping away from you ; now that you have taken to spiteful bickering, there is no way of correcting your boorishness.

It is a pity that you should not be forced to go to the centre of the Land of Breagha where the Five Provinces meet (and there show yourself) in your uncivilised boorishness.

44. My heart is sorry, and angry too, that some real poet is not in your place in this dispute I hate to be disputing with a man like you, no matter how much I gain by it.

45. Having failed in your first essays, you were spun in your efforts to get your Degrees I was a Master over you, though your compositions grated on my feelings.

46. I have the " Ga Bulga " trick up my sleeve to knock your entrails out of place, a trick to knock the edge off your verses.

47. When the schools were at their most numerous and learning at its height I could have sat among the sages, though my triumph would have galled you.

48. It is only a few good specimens of my work that I give now, I will afterwards gather (? my full harvest ; a perfect case is being here set forth in my defence, a fair appreciation of my mature compositions.

49. In these gleanings (from my poetry) I give no handle for criticism ; I leave them after me free from " blisters " or mistakes or tag-ends sticking out (?) or . . .

50. I have been told—it is not a very strong defence for you—that you are indifferent about all kinds of faults and that you simply deny them to be faults—rather an absurd position !

51. Platitude, the riming of a word with itself, are faults I have not committed, or tautology or cacophony or misplaced alliteration ; that stanza (in which you accuse me of these things) makes no point against me.

52. There is not (in my verses) " alliteration most unpleasant ", nor any " most feeble web " nor any " want of neatness in the weaving " ; my cloth is all pure wool.

53. You have not read in any poem of mine a " line which went wrong when in the weaving " or any silliness (?) ; my skill is beyond the range of thy spite.

54. (In my work) the adjectives are well arranged, there is no *a* wrongly placed, there is no *o* that is not in its right position, and *sonn* (?) has not the force of a verb.

55. The stuff of your verse, lumpy or smooth, that stuff prickly and stale and sprawling, thy bombastic talk meaning nothing in particular—I make no comment on all these things.

56. If poetry is to be looked on as a kind of card-game and language a means of winning it, then (let me tell you that) I have no liking for sharp practice in this matter either in my language or in cards.

57. From the ugliness of your composition true sages can gather that you are no scholar or master ; among poets your work is a byword.

58. You are so ignorant that you can not see that your feeble verse, formed on rough models, and being nothing but a mere string of rimes, is not elegant poetry.

59. Its ephthongs being wrong and misshapen, wretched is every bit of your poetry neither one thing nor the other in shape, neither *dán* nor *abhrán*.

60. Weak words left unsupported, silly ones being used as important ones, these things are not much of a recommendation (for your work), but—with that crude ornamentation—merely serve as a web for it.

61. A nasty word used in bad taste, a particle used without any force, some ridiculous form which one should be ashamed of—these things are common in thy silly doggerel.

62. My words never stood in the way of clear sense, to contend with me was silly of you you cut a silly figure in the dispute.

63. Pretentious as is your language, there is, I maintain, no sense or substance in anything you say, a mere confused scamper of words.

any a sage of perfect lore, many a student subtle and keen and ardent among my scholars is better than you and can uphold my repute.

was wrong of you not to keep silent and not to keep out of the contentions of subtle masters who never thought of believing anything you would say—but advice is thrown away on a man who is doomed !

ou fancy yourself an accomplished scholar, you have plenty of talk like any child, but much of your foolish verse is full of mistakes.

have been wrongfully and unjustifiably attacked for my poetry, and you have been telling unvarnished lies about it ; may you never have any luck.

ou are a mere reciter—an unqualified one at that, you are a petty buffoon, a beggar ; bold as you are like a brawling stream, you would not be a match even for my reciter !

NOTES

SS : 23 L 17, 149 (L), 23 E 15, 183 (E). Text is L except as noted below ; but stt. which are absent from L are from E.
du LE 2*a* dán L, dám E *b* abhar L *c* nó go ttáir LE *d* nár
3*b* -aghn- LE *c* ttragaim E ; tuige LE 4*c* cur LE ; fadh LE *d* -mhair
5*a* dfogh. LE *d* se. saoir. LE 6*a* Gé mó é LE *b* bíodh LE ; airleagas
LE *c* cheis LE *d* treis LE 7*a* sin LE *d* -naim E 8*a* liom
c -la E *d* -gha E 9*a* -thibh LE *b* -idh LE c–eamh LE
bh LE ; sea. L 10*a* me L *b* oidighe LE ; iuil ndoi. LE 11*c* a dhul E
LE ; admhuibh LE ; thusa L *b* ionmhusa LE 13*a* duit LE ; -thibh
b chéadaoi. LE *d* déi. LE 14*b* -thnion LE *c* sao. LE ; riu LE
LE ; reann LE *d* sruithir. E 16*b* bheith E *c* -rádh LE *d* -rádh
17*a* -radh L *b* -art LE *c* nídh LE *d* teagair LE ; -thfil. L,
E 18*a* -llis E *b* -fis E *c* doilg LE *d* oilig LE ; abhar L
na bheathaigh L *b* taithir L *c*. -thibh L 20*a* fu. L *b* chleith
do challuabhais LE *c* -úith LE ; -mheadh E 21*b* anamh fua. LE *c*
ioile LE *d* fada atáir ad thr. L 22*a* Lead LE ; beagadh L *b* bhfuil
im L *c* talmhuin ní toi. do lat L *d* bhfuil LE 23*a* -luidheadh
24*a* is do mh. mui. LE 25*a* A L, Ai E ; pearse L ; tar LE ; ailim L *b*
L *c* fhuirm L *d* -cheasd LE ; oruibh LE 26*b* -ancholl L,
ncholl E *c* na cconn L 27*a* An don ionnaithmheach LE ; oirid L, doirid E
is LE ; chialluighid L, cialloidhid E *d* shaoi L, shaoith E 28*c* céim LE
est LE 29*a* mhéad niar. L *c* accadádh L *d* ceist oraibhse amadáin
30*b* -tháir LE *c* -radh LE *d* -ccoga. L 31*b* fedir L
finn (?) L, ghrfain E ; ngaodh- LE 32*a* haidmhé. L *c* tráth L ; -pa L
cal L 33 acceacht LE *b* -amh LE ; uireiceacht LE *c* -bhfuill L
LE 34*b* atáir LE *c* na ccuing LE *d* rim LE 35*a* nidh LE
L *d* -cruibh L 36*b* ábhar E *c* thoirim E ; daoi san E *d* aoil E
guin fochuin E *b* -than E 38*b* ghnídh E ; éil E *c* -aingion air E
ghan E 39*a* *Leg.* bunnán ? *b* -ldha E 40*a* ndorrcha E *b* -ra
c ghnídh E 41*b* ní fios gá daoi agaibh E *d* geirge E 42*a* -da E
nadhnais E *d* -ca an ainbhfis E 43*b* gach ealuidhion E *c* -rr- E
nea. dar m (*dotted line above*) mhóid E *d* lead E 45*a* -le E *b* -ada E
imse E 46*a* ghadh E *b* ttucfadh E *c* -rbhfeas E *d* fhoilcheas E
idheadh E *c* cear E *d* bhiaidh E 48*b* *unmetrical* *c* fhoirbhthe a l. E
heagra E ; bheich E 49*b* bíodh E ; dioluim dioluighim E *d* fhiadh E
ill E *b* ainmhe E *c* maga E 51*b* bhfuil E *c* ghairbh E
narm E 52*a* Cá bhfuil E *c* ní fhuil E 53*a* léighis E ; bfighthe E
laonsuighthe E *c* um ghaos E 54*c* ann *d* i *abest* E ; bhfuil E
áithe E ; meall E *b* snaithe E *c* bhoirrfadh E *d* froigra oruibh E
art E *d* sa nimirt E 57*a* foirm éidium E *d* nár E 58*b* -naithe
d cor E 59*a* Fudhbha E *b* cumus E 60*b* -cal boga E
E 61*a* -rtha E ; sul E *d* min. E 62*a* gl. LE *c* fear LE, throid
63*b* bhfuil LE *c* nídh LE *d* ad tfui. L 64*a* sruth L *c* fearr
á LE *d* geall LE ; -méad LE 65*c* ga LE ; oide LE *d* croide L ;
; -rádh L 66*a* dóil 17 L *b* -lumthuidhe L, -luintidhe E 67*b* fu.
d daith L 68*a* an bhaird L *c* geadh L *d* leam L

REVIEWS

Biography

ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA. By Francis Thompson. With an Introductio by J. H. Pollen, S.J. and an Appreciation by Hugh Kelly, S.J. Dublin Clonmore and Reynolds. 1951. 12s. 6d.

A FEW years before his death in 1907 Francis Thompson accepted a commissio to write a biography of St. Ignatius. The choice of biographer must have seeme curious to many ; but the poet warmed to the set task and this reprint after 40 year is a just compliment to what remains a very readable biography even if it need revision in the light of forty years of further Ignatian research. The Editor ha asked for a short comment on the reprint which would take recent publicatio into account.

All future biographers must use the great biography by Father Paul Dudo published in French in 1934, and even some of his views have to be corrected i the light of the work of Father Leturia and (more recently still) of Fathers Rahne Larañaga and Iparraguirre. Much useful work has been done on the early life o the saint. Thompson writes : " There is nothing to be told of the boy Ignatius. To that boy and his Loyola heritage Leturia gives a whole chapter in his *Gentilhombre Iñigo Lopez de Loyola*. But it is in the " dequixotising " of the accoun of Iñigo's adolescence and first manhood and in throwing light on Ignatius's inne life that most service has been done. Dudon himself in endeavouring to give a honest view of the early years protests, as does the Spanish historian Astrain, agains the 17th century historians who suppressed all mention of the saint's sinful li and gave rise to the quixotic knight-errant legend which still unhappily has it pious followers. The severest blow dealt in English to the piety-at-any-pric school was Fr. Brodrick's scintillating *Origin of the Jesuits* which is in large par a summary biography of St. Ignatius. But it has by no means been a deat blow. The " knightly Bayard " of Thompson must also be seen as th " gay and vain youth " of Leturia (and Ribadeneira and Polanco and Gonzales who " wore a slashed suit of two bright colours, open cape, tight-fitting hose an boots, sword and dagger at his waist and upon his proud blond head . . . a smal scarlet cap adorned with a jaunty waving feather. At times he donned gleamin breast-plate and wore in addition a cross-bow with darts and other weapons . . . And his actions befitted his garb. He indulged in amorous and sinful pursuit in quarrels and in delusions of worldly grandeur, imitating Amadis with Oriana or perhaps more exactly, the gallant don Galaor of the scabrous episodes." Ribadeneir summed him up as a " *soldado desgarrado y vano* ", and *desgarrado* is a strong wor and rather disconcerting to those who lack the realism of a Ridadeneira and woul devise an Ignatius to their own prim and edifying measure. Indeed Leturia com ments on the description given above as " this disconcerting portrait of the futur founder of the Society of Jesus."

That " Portrait of the Founder as a Young Man " which has now been brough down from the Jesuit attic with some other family skeletons might well form th frontispiece to the first week of the Spiritual Exercises. It would explain the shudde in the " *aborresciendo* " of the Triple Colloquy, and throw new light on the *pou mieux sauter* motive of the whole first week and on the sorry shame of the unfaithfu knight. Some hitherto unpublished Nadal manuscripts recently edited in th *Fontes Narrativi* would seem to treat of Jesuit spirituality from a similar viewpoir Any fair biography of Ignatius of Loyola would indeed err in not stressing his arde and noble qualities ; but it must not hide the truth that he was also a *soldado de garrado y vano*. Were it to do so, it would only lessen the living logic of the Exercis and the truly heroic stature of the converted Iñigo de Loyola. As well make th unconverted Augustine a mere petty raider of orchards !

atius's prolonged trance at Manresa related by Thompson in Chapter One mentioned by Father Dudon save in a passing reference in an appendix. vell known, Dudon's views on the relation of the Manresan raptures to the ng of the Society were, to say the least of it, strong ; he would not at all agree 'hompson's statement that " already (at Manresa) the plan of the order was r less detailed in Ignatius's mind." On the Cardoner illumination—the most lous in the saint's whole mystical experiences—Dudon's comment is : tius simply wished to say that he was then given the capacity of forming the " which is little more than an adaptation of one of Nadal's clearer statements matter : *quasi illic omnia accepisset in spiritu sapientiae architectonico.* er, Jesuit historians' tempers are still liable to get frayed on this subject lly in St. Ignatius's own country. *Cujus regio . . . .*

e most noteworthy and surprising omission in Thompson is any adequate s or even description of the Spiritual Exercises. Nor is there any serious t at showing how they flowed into the Constitutions of the Society. Those g to fill this lacuna can do so by reading the apposite chapters in Dudon or, still, Hugo Rahner's small but very important study on the origin of the ses. His analyses of the main Ignatian ideas—*Sua Divina Majestas, Magis, a Caritas, Sentire cum Ecclesia*—are as brilliant as they are exact.

ancis Thompson's *St. Ignatius* cannot then be regarded as a completely ctory biography ; it does not take nearly enough cognisance of " the interior from which force must flow to the exterior." Yet what Father Pollen wrote o still remains true : " A story of far off times, unusual and complicated, and sequence hard to convey clearly, is told with a simplicity and vivacity which it living, intelligible and convincing." And it would be impertinent to add homage paid by both Fathers Kelly and Pollen to the vigour and grace of pson's prose.

e printing of many pages of this book is no credit to the publishers or to workmanship and there are a number of misprints (that in the heading of r one being quite felicitous !). The interesting medallion from the Wallace tion deserves a more permanent and dignified background than the garish over.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

LIFE OF BARON VON HÜGEL. By Michael de la Bedoyère. London : M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. xviii+366 pp. 25s.

N VON HÜGEL was our greatest theologian and the ablest apologist for anity in our time. What a splendid defence of the Christian faith may be ed from his writings ! "

ch is the verdict of an eminent Protestant divine noted for his antipathy s Catholicism, W. R. Inge, late Dean of St. Paul's. During his later years ügel's reputation stood higher among Anglicans than among Catholics and radoxical situation made it difficult to find an ideal biographer for him. Yet er criticisms may be made of this book it must be admitted that Count el de la Bedoyère, the gifted and popular editor and journalist, has shown a astery of the art of biography in his presentation of von Hügel, the man, as ck his contemporaries. The author, a nephew of von Hügel's Catholic friend lgar Thorold, has drawn on the Baron's unpublished diaries and important f his voluminous correspondence. But despite his access to these, his task have been less easy had it been undertaken before the appearance of Loisy's ousand pages of memoirs.

In a glowing preface Count de la Bedoyère speaks of the Baron as "the religious teacher who has most nearly spoken to all that I feel to be best and deepest in me," and it is not through any lack of honesty but rather because his vision is dimmed by veneration that he consistently underrates the extent of von Hügel's 'modernism.' '*Le miracle m'est très antipathique*' said von Hügel's spiritual director, the Abbé Huvelin, and doubtless this good priest had in mind the miracles of Lourdes when he so spoke. But his disciple called for a reconsideration of our attitude towards the miracles of the Gospels. The doctrine of the Virgin Birth presented an especial difficulty to him. Though in comparison with Loisy, von Hügel was a conservative thinker, his views about the miraculous resulted in a sense of isolation from English Catholics and he found only one among them with whom he felt that he could share his inmost thoughts. This was Father George Tyrrell whom he called "the friend of friends." After Tyrrell's death isolation increased and he wrote to Miss Maude Petre, "You, now that Father T. is gone, are about the only English Catholic, with whom I have felt, with whom I do feel, profoundly at one, in these most complex and straining transition problems."

The Baron's closest intellectual contacts were now with Anglicans. Von Hügel was according to the letter of the law excommunicated as a contributor to the condemned periodical *Il Rinnovamento* but he was advised by Bishop Bonnomelli and others that the responsibility for enforcing the excommunication lay with his Ordinary. Cardinal Bourne took no action and made a reassuring statement to von Hügel's youngest daughter, the Baroness Thekla, a Carmelite nun. "The Cardinal knew," says the biographer, "of the Baron's holiness and fundamental loyalty . . ." Von Hügel certainly at one time feared loss of the Sacraments, but he was never pressed to sign any anti-modernist declaration. The Baron's friend, Padre Semeria, had been allowed by the Pope himself to take the anti-modernist oath "with a reservation for the rights of criticism," the permission being granted in a letter written in the Sovereign Pontiff's own hand, but it hardly seems likely that such a solution could have been arrived at in von Hügel's case had the Holy See chosen to take any action in the matter. But von Hügel remained under a cloud and during his last visit to Rome in 1915, on the occasion of the illness and death of his eldest daughter, he was unable to obtain an audience even with the tolerant Benedict XV. His son-in-law believed that it was because there still remained something for him to do "in connection with Fr. Tyrrell's affair." Count de la Bedoyère adduces no evidence that von Hügel ever formally renounced his modernist position, but in his last years he became highly esteemed as a spiritual director. The biographer might indeed have quoted a tribute paid to his hero by the present Abbot of Downside who recently compared the Baron with St. Francis de Sales. The author is critical of von Hügel's political judgments, notably of his disapproval of the policy of the Vatican in the First World War. Though an Austrian subject, the Baron took an active part in opposing Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886 and disapproved in 1918 of "the sweeping victory of Sinn Fein with that woman lunatic returned in Dublin."

HUMPHREY J. T. JOHNSON

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES, 1534–1829. Volume 1, No. 1. Bognor Regis: The Arundel Press. 1951. 8s. 6d.

THE sub-title of this first number of a new venture in English Catholic literature reads: "Materials towards a biographical dictionary of Catholic History in the British Isles from the breach with Rome to Catholic Emancipation". There are two joint editors of what is planned as a series that will appear twice yearly: Mr. A. F. Allison of the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum, and Mr.

I. Rogers of the Bodleian Library. Both men are known to lovers of old Catholic s as experts in this field. They have recently been engaged in a campaign he inspection and detailed examination of all surviving Catholic recusant books re 1640. The Catholic Record Society has for more than fifty years been giving series of volumes, still published at an astonishingly low price, of old Catholic uscript records ; and there have been many recent additions to the history of ish and Scottish Catholics of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. the mass of information that has thus been made available is scattered and not y accessible ; textbooks in common use continue to repeat statements and ments which have long since been made meaningless by new discoveries. The *ionary of National Biography* needs revision here as in so many other departments ; standard Catholic works of reference such as Foley's *Records* and Gillow's *ographical Dictionary* are now more or less antiquated.

This first number of *Biographical Studies* gives a fair sample of what is planned he future. It is not printed, but duplicated : " in order to avoid both the delays the high cost of printing ". But it has been duplicated by a process which excellent and most legible results ; and the knowledge that we may count on gular appearance of two numbers for each year is ample compensation for the formal appearance of the numbers. Mr. Allison leads off with a detailed account l that is now known about the writings, published and unpublished, of Father ry Garnet, S.J. (1555–1606). He begins with a series of quotations from emporary records, friendly and hostile, which give us trustworthy information Father Garnet's literary apostolate. Mr. Allison then attempts to identify item by comparison with surviving books, and has some fascinating details ut the nature of the secret printing presses which gave Father Garnet his chance eaching the English public of his day. He ends with a catalogue of the known editions of each work, giving a list of extant copies for each item and where are to be found. Mr. Rogers contributes a biographical study of the Londoner, er John Abbot, who died in prison as a confessor of the faith somewhere about year 1650. The mere fact that the date of his death is uncertain throws light he conditions under which so many English Catholics were kept in prison : re not without our grim parallels to-day. Here also we get a list of Abbot's n writings, and an effort to locate extant copies.

Other articles in this number are less strictly bibliographical. Mr. W. Vincent h prints a series of corrections to Kirk's articles on two English families in his *raphies of English Catholics* ; and also a note on Edward Hawarden, a chaplain ilesgate, Durham in the early eighteenth century. Mr. T. B. Trappes-Lomax, her notable scholar in this highly specialized type of work, writes on the family erkeley of Spetchley in Worcestershire and its contribution to the survival of Faith in that district. Mr. E. E. Reynolds throws light on the last years of op Challoner by studying the family of Mawhood of Smithfield and Finchley, gave the saintly bishop shelter in hours of danger. The record of families h were thus faithful when their help was most needed is an indispensable element ny study of the survival and history of English Catholicism. A complete list cret chapels and chaplaincies, for example, must some day be made : it would us a map of those centres of the Old Faith which must be visualized if we are rite accurate history, not partial legend or out-of-date propaganda.

The present desperate plight of so many Catholics in Eastern Europe and in Far East should bring home to us the simple truth that Christian life is a constant are, and that those who risk most and lose most are very often those who leave behind them by way of authentic documentary record. Here in Ireland we the very real difficulty of forming an accurate picture of the missionary priesthood

in this country during the eighteenth century. Englishmen as a whole are more careful to record their official acts than Irishmen ; but the stress of active persecution means the use of subterfuge and pseudonym, of secret press and hiding-place. These are not ideal materials for the modern historical scholar, who is often far too apt to rely on the surviving documentary sources and resolutely refuses to go beyond them. Mr. Allison and Mr. Rogers can be trusted to be as accurate and as critical as any modern scholar ; and they are endlessly diligent in seeking out the scattered relics of English Catholicism in Elizabethan and Stuart days. We wish them every success in their new venture, and we remind our readers that a subscription to *Biographical Studies* is the most practical form of support that it is in our power to give.

AUBREY GWYNN

HISTORY

REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM STEPHANI DE LEXINTON. Edited by Dr. P. Bruno Griesser, O.Cist. (*Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Annus II, 1946). Roma : Curia Generalis Ord. Cist. 1950.

STUDENTS of medieval Irish history are seldom offered a wholly new and fascinating document. That is the gift which Dom Bruno Griesser, of the Austrian-Swiss monastery of Mehrerau, brings us in this publication. He has edited for the first time that portion of the register of Abbot Stephen of Lexington which records the acts of his official visitation of the Irish houses of the order during the years 1228-9. Abbot Stephen was commissioned to act as visitor by the chapter general that met at Citeaux in September, 1227. The visitation began at Tintern and Dunbrothy in Wexford in the spring of 1228, and was continued to the late autumn of that year. It was interrupted by a violent resistance on the part of some of the Munster communities, and Abbot Stephen left Ireland with the intention of returning in the summer of the following year. But he was elected abbot of the great Norman monastery of Savigny in May, 1229, and was thus forced to delegate his powers as visitor to two Anglo-Norman abbots in Ireland. The later portion of his register, beginning with a group of entries for 21 May, 1229, is thus of Norman, not of Irish interest—with the exception of one or two isolated documents which Dom Griesser has printed here for the convenience of students. What he gives us is thus a total of 114 documents, almost all of which are here printed for the first time. There are some obvious misprints in the text, and Dom Griesser's foot-notes sometimes betray, as might be expected, a lack of accurate information on such subjects as Irish topography or the political background to Abbot Stephen's visitation. But these are minor defects. The publication of so large a body of authentic contemporary material puts us all very much in Dom Griesser's debt ; and the appearance of this volume is in effect a very definite challenge to Irish scholars, who must now set themselves to interpret and explain what is here printed.

Abbot Stephen's register has been in the National (formerly Royal) Library of Turin for several centuries. Its survival so far afield from Savigny or Clairvaux is something of a puzzle, though I think Dom Griesser has found the true solution. In 1241 a group of important Cistercian abbots went from France to Rome at the summons of Pope Gregory IX. On their way, as their ship was passing Elba, they were attacked by Genoese pirates who were acting as allies of the Emperor Frederick II. Most of the company were captured and held prisoners : some were drowned, including the secretary of the abbot of Citeaux. Abbot Stephen escaped capture

to the intervention of his warlike brother, John of Lexington. In 1243 the
f Clairvaux died, still a prisoner in northern Italy. Stephen was elected to
l him, and thus became Saint Bernard's successor as abbot of Clairvaux.
l probably brought his register with him, since he had important business
sact with the Pope. Since there is no entry in the register later than 1239,
fair guess that the abbot lost this official record of his acts in the disaster of
nd that by some chance the book finally found its way to the library in Turin.
unnoticed there until 1912, when an Italian scholar, F. Cognasso, printed
etters from it in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, and announced a full edition
was never published. Dom Griesser has contented himself with reproducing
ailed analysis of the manuscript (Cod. D. vi. 25) which Cognasso published
2. He has prepared the present text from photostats, and students of the
as a whole must also refer to Cognasso's articles for full information on
technical points. Here I shall confine myself to the main facts of Abbot
n's visitation.

ere had been trouble in the Irish houses of the order for some twenty years
the visitation. The annual decrees of the chapters general—which have
ecently printed by Dom Canivez in the first two volumes of his *Statuta*
lorum Generalium—let us see that the fathers of more than one chapter had
ompelled to take strong action in defence of monastic discipline. Abbot
n was in fact by no means the first visitor who had been sent to Ireland with
mmission to assert the authority of the chapter general. Some of the reports
he sent back to France from Ireland in 1228 are distressingly vivid as a picture
t can only be described as a complete breakdown of monastic observance
rge number of the Irish houses. That breakdown was partly due to the
ty of imposing a rigidly centralized form of government on a people whose
tic tradition had always been marked by a tendency to individual freedom,
only to the guidance of a rule which aimed rather at spiritual direction of
lividual soul than at the uniform observance of common life.

t another factor had complicated the situation in Ireland. In France and
d the order had grown so rapidly in the lifetime of St. Bernard that the
r general of 1155 forbade the foundation of new houses without special per-
n. In Ireland there were at that time ten houses, nine of them belonging to
atio Mellifontis with its strong native Irish tradition. The tenth abbey was
ry's, Dublin, which had been founded from Savigny in 1139 at a time when
y, with some thirty daughter-houses in Normandy and England, formed a
e order which was not incorporated in the Cistercian Order until 1148.
's traditions were thus Norman rather than Irish, and St. Mary's became
bly the centre of Anglo-Norman Cistercian life in Ireland after the conquest
. Probably as a result of that conquest new Irish foundations were permitted
ne when other Cistercian foundations were being severely limited. By 1228
vere some thirty-five abbeys, more than half of which belonged to the *filiatio*
ntis. But there had been numerous Anglo-Norman foundations since 1172.
had obtained a daughter-house at Dunbrothy in Wexford. Furness, the
Savigniac abbey in Lancashire, had two daughter-houses at Iniscourci in
own, and at Abingdon or Woney in Co. Limerick. William Marshall had
d Tintern abbey in Wexford, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made
n danger of shipwreck off the Irish coast. The Welsh abbey of Whitland had
d Grey Abbey in Co. Down, and Tracton in Co. Cork. Abbot Stephen's
bey of Stanley in Wiltshire (itself a Savigniac house, which had been founded
Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight) had an important daughter-house
iguenamanagh in Co. Kilkenny. These new English foundations had a

tradition that was very different from the older Irish tradition of Mellifont, which looked back to St. Malachy as well as to St. Bernard as co-founders of Irish Cistercianism. There was thus, from 1172 onwards, an inevitable clash between two rival traditions within the Cistercian order.

From Abbot Stephen's letters we can see that Mellifont, Baltinglass, Jerpoint, Suir (Inislounaght near Clonmel) and Maigue (Nenagh near Limerick) were all active centres of revolt against any effort to impose French ways on these Irish houses. More than one visitor before 1228 had deposed Irish abbots, only to find that Irish monks were prepared to use violence against their new French or Anglo-Norman abbots. The most instructive document in this register is the long account which Abbot Stephen sent to the abbot of Clairvaux of his own visitation of Mellifont in the summer of 1228. For a full week the visitor harangued a community of insubordinate monks, threatening them with dire penalties if they persisted in their disobedience and insisting on the observance of rules which he held to be essential for the preservation of monastic discipline. The clash with Irish tradition is here most obvious. "What does a monk know," asked the indignant visitor, "if he knows only Irish?" How could the rule be properly observed by men who could neither read the rule in Latin nor tell their fault in French? Henceforth no novice is to be admitted who is ignorant of these two languages. If this standard of education is found too high, let those who want to be monks go abroad to some centre of more cultured life—Paris or Oxford or elsewhere—and learn what is needed for full monastic life.

Such legislation is most obviously an attack on the older tradition of Irish monastic life—and on the Welsh tradition as well. This latter point is plain from a letter in which Abbot Stephen complains that the abbot of Whitland in Wales had objected to the visitor's new rule as applied to Whitland's daughter-house of Tracton near Cork. The visitor replied (as he had replied to the monks of Mellifont) that he had no wish to exclude any nation from admission to the order. All that he was concerned with was a knowledge of French and Latin; two languages which he held to be essential for successful observance of the Cistercian rule. But it is plain that the Irish and Welsh monks felt that the visitor did protest too much. Indeed there are some sentences in the visitor's reports to the abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux, and in a letter to the English abbot of Furness, which make it plain that his policy could only end in the gradual elimination of every element that was hostile to the French way of life.

There is a personal interest in this story, apart from the light it throws on the difficulty of grafting French or Anglo-Norman monasticism on an Irish stem. As a young man Stephen of Lexington had attended lectures in theology at Paris and Oxford, and he had been the pupil of Edmund Rich, later a saintly archbishop of Canterbury. Many years later, when he had been elected abbot of Clairvaux, one of his first actions was to found the first organized Cistercian house of studies: the house of St. Bernard at Paris. There were many at Clairvaux in 1244 who opposed their abbot's new policy as a departure from primitive Cistercian observance, and there has always been a tradition in the order that Abbot Stephen resigned his post as abbot of Clairvaux in 1257 under pressure from those who felt that he had broken away from the austere tradition of St. Bernard. Dom Griesser doubts the value of this tradition, and he may well be right. One thing at least is plain. The man whom the chapter general sent to Ireland in 1227 was an exceptionally able and far-seeing administrator. But he was no friend of Irish ways; and the most lasting result of his visitation was a formal *dispersio filiationis Mellifontis*, which marks the end of a chapter in Irish Cistercian history.

AUBREY GWYNN

HBISHOP THOMAS BECKET. By M. D. Knowles. London: Geoffrey umberlege. 1950. Pp. 31. 2s. 6d. net.

EPISCOPAL COLLEAGUES OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET. y David Knowles. Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. 190. 12s. 6d. net.

ARSHIP and literary grace are frequently divorced from each other in modern cal writing; some writers (making, one suspects, a virtue of necessity) have s far as to justify this development. Professor David Knowles is not of their er. However little else he may have in common with Gibbon, Macaulay roude, Professor Knowles's command of a direct and vigorous style as a m of historical expression places him with them in the great English literary cal tradition. In the present volumes, whose matter was designed originally oken delivery (being 1949 Raleigh and Ford Lectures respectively), this gift to illuminate the personality and background of one of mediaeval England's intriguing, yet baffling characters.

is hard to achieve a judicial balance in describing England's greatest Arch-. The "hard directness" of his Norman temperament, to use Professor les's own phrase, seems to call forth an equally pronounced reaction, favourable favourable, in his modern biographers. Whether they consider St. Thomas far-sighted defender, by anticipation, of ecclesiastical rights against Renaissance anism (as does Hilaire Belloc), or as "a vain, obstinate and ambitious man ought always to keep himself in the public eye" (as does Austin Lane Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, p. 198), or even as the high priest of a sub-ean witch-cult (as does Hugh Ross Williamson), all seem to agree in denying as the usual human characteristics of psychological light and shade. Professor les has avoided this pitfall and his Thomas is as a consequence a much more le figure.

ne Raleigh Lecture's discussion of Thomas's character has one point of re-nce to the work in the same field of another eminent Catholic historian—d. Both writers agree in emphasising that the element of heroic sanctity Archbishop's character was fully revealed only by his death, which thus s something of a catastrophic quality in relation to the rest of his career. as's progress towards the final sacrifice in Canterbury Cathedral hardly con-with the traditional hagiographical pattern. The eight years of his pontificate d with strangely varying expressions of thought and action; at moments s those in the council chamber at Northampton (1164) the Archbishop rises epic greatness; at others he succumbs to vacillation, adopts an extravagantly ive, even sometimes uncharitable attitude to personal adversaries, or allows to become embroiled in irrelevant and occasionally petty issues. Professor es traces back all these varying traits to elements in the early environment young Thomas, as the surviving sources reveal them to us. His reconstruction l and largely convincing, though one sometimes feels qualms at the intrusion of ductions and language of modern psycho-analysis (e.g. p. 6.: "There is gestion—rather the reverse—of sympathy and understanding between father n, and if the widespread tradition that the boy stammered rests on fact, it ble that Gilbert in some way dominated or repressed him.") Thomas the llor has on this interpretation striking affinities with Thomas the Archbishop; th are different from Thomas the saint.

fessor Knowles's disentanglement of these different strands in Thomas's er is a fascinating process. Viewed from the purely human angle, Thomas as one of those gifted but tragic personalities who have great capacity and

desire for personal sympathy and affection, but who yet seem to be unable to overcome an internal barrier of reserve and isolation which debars them from the understanding and communion with others which they seek. Professor Knowles points out shrewdly that Thomas had, throughout his life, only two real friends, Archbishop Theobald and Henry II, and that " both were, though in different ways, disillusioned at the last." (p. 8). There is no enemy like an old friend ; but, whatever may be said of Henry (and there is little to be said for him where personal loyalty is in question), Thomas never seems to have forgotten the concord of former days ; his references to Henry during the whole period of the controversy never acquire the bitterness which he reserves for some of the King's episcopal supporters.

Those supporters have very often been written off as mere time-servers, subservient to the secular power for reasons of policy and advancement. In his second book, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, Professor Knowles shows that such a judgement can be reached only in a small minority of cases. Roger of Pont L'Evêque does indeed seem to have indulged in a personal vendetta against Thomas which dated back to the early days of both men in Theobald's *entourage*, and which was intensified by the traditional rivalry between the sees of Canterbury and York. Hilary of Chichester appears also to have been guided by motives of expediency. Jocelin of Salisbury proved himself as incapable in middle age of holding out against royal displeasure as he had been of restraining the impulses of the flesh as a young man. But, apart from these three and with the other significant exception of Gilbert Foliot, the English hierarchy of the 1160's seems to have been a body of genuinely perplexed men, sympathetic on the whole to Thomas's personal stand and yet often in doubt whether his intransigeance would be ultimately helpful to the ecclesiastical cause. The plausibility of such a view can be gauged by the fact that it was to some extent shared by Alexander III, who was plainly embarrassed by Thomas's advocation of the forthright excommunication of Henry. It would be anachronistic to describe Thomas as an Ultramontane, but on this particular issue he certainly manifested a clear characteristic of later Ultramontanism—the habit of being more Papalist than the Pope. The issue was further complicated by the fact that Henry based his case on the requirements of feudal law, ground on which the bishops, as his tenants-in-chief, were decidedly on the defensive. Many of them, like Gilbert Foliot, were not satisfied that the problem could be solved by the simple subordination of feudal to Canon Law which Thomas advocated. Foliot in fact, as Professor Knowles shows, tries to go back via Gerhoh of Reichersberg to that dualistic theory of Christian society which, according to the classic formulation of Pope Gelasius I, set forth the mutually autonomous yet complementary operation of the secular and spiritual powers.

Professor Knowles is as illuminating in his analysis of the personalities behind these principles as he is of the principles themselves. The general reader will probably find his brilliant series of sketches of each of his episcopal subjects the most interesting portion of the book. Professor Knowles here reveals a gift which many a novelist would envy—the facility for presenting impressionistic, concise and perfectly convincing portraits of a wide range of human personalities. The misty and stilted figures from the pages of the chronicles and episcopal registers are invested with new and exciting life. Henry of Winchester, " something of a survival, as it might be a dowager with the light of a falling day about her " (p.37) ; Thomas' great opponent, Gilbert Foliot of London, " the just man who had no need for penance " (p. 42) ; Jocelin of Salisbury, who has " in him something of the Gloucester of *King Lear* " and is possessed of " a somewhat ponderous jocularity ", these are perhaps the figures which remain longest in the memory. But the obscurer personalities also are etched with equal fidelity.

The main achievement of these Ford Lectures is, however, to throw into relief central figure of the whole drama—Archbishop Thomas himself, for it is in on to him that the other episcopal protagonists reveal their true character. nas too shows in his dealings with them the strength and limitations of his personality. An uncompromising adherence to an inflexible personal inter- tion of a concrete historical situation combined with an inclination towards ity (a " compensation," Professor Knowles suggests, for the laxity of former to render Thomas incapable of compromise. And so he remained an isolated, aps embittered, figure to the end.

Yet somewhere in this all too familiar framework of human nobility and pettiness d sanctity. In the last hour of his life, on that dark winter afternoon in Canter- , the swords of the three knights forced on Thomas the acceptance of the Cross brutally concrete form such as few other men have been called on to face. The ng scene of the martyrdom, as Professor Knowles retells it, shows us a Thomas e distinctive personal qualities have not been destroyed but transfigured by supernatural fortitude conferred on him at this supreme *dénouement*. The old rightness and warmth of language appears in his remarks to the knights, just e wistful craving of a lonely man for sympathetic human companionship emerges e final touching conversation with John of Salisbury. But, over and above all we sense a new note—a kind of surrender of the interior depths of the personality h is peculiar to the Christian saint. It was that surrender, sealed by martyrdom, h made St. Thomas the most popular devotional figure for three centuries of eval England. The assorted company of pilgrims which Chaucer portrays ing to the shrine of " the holy blissful martyr " did not go to venerate Thomas, champion of the clerical order against the Constitutions of Clarendon ; they to venerate Thomas, the Archbishop who had sealed his devotion to the Faith his blood. All his mistakes were forgotten—and rightly ; for his death was nly true index to the real greatness of St. Thomas. In this sense we may say T. S. Eliot, in confining his dramatic study of St. Thomas to those last tremendous mber days, gave evidence of the same sound historical insight which Professor wles possesses.

JOHN B. MORRALL

RENDON. Politics, History and Religion, 1640-1660. By B. H. G. Wormald. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press. 1951. pp. xiv and 332.

is an extremely important book. One would find it difficult to point to a better nstration within a short compass of the true nature of historical thinking. Wormald has succeeded in the aim of every historian : to make the evidence im what *he* wants to know, not what the author of the evidence would like him ow. The subject of Mr. Wormald's book is the development of Edward Hyde's s upon politics, history and religion during the twenty years from the meeting e Long Parliament to the Restoration. Two great historians have attempted ask before and their achievements stand like two sheer sides of a valley, making sh approach difficult to the land beyond. One of these historians was Samuel on Gardiner, the other was Edward Hyde himself, author of *The History of Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England*. Practically all students of seventeenth ry England have followed Gardiner in their assessment of Hyde, and Gardiner elf took Hyde's writings after the Second Civil War as a safe guide to what ad thought before the First Civil War. The normal, one might say orthodox, of Hyde has been to paint him as a moderate parliamentarian, never one of 's supporters, who was converted to Royalism because of Pym's attack on

the established Church; whose pamphlets helped to rally a royalist army to the king's side and who finally went into exile for the king's sake, to return at the Restoration as the chief royal adviser. Now this view Mr. Wormald shows to be, if not wrong, at least wrong-headed, by remembering a principle of historiography which Gardiner in this particular case seems to have forgotten, namely that a man's own account of his actions written years later is not necessarily the best guide to his motives at the time.

The first part of the book is devoted to Hyde's politics from the second session of the Long Parliament to the failure of both sides to come to agreement in the Treaty of Oxford. The mistake of previous historians, Mr. Wormald quietly implies, has been to impose upon Hyde's actions an explanation which the *History* itself, if carefully examined in the light of other evidence, does not justify. In the *History* Hyde was looking at the past through the prism of his own experience and he tends (as a consequence) to distort it. For example he gives the reader the impression that he sprang to the defence of the bishops at the time when Pym would have had them excluded from the Lords; but the evidence from other sources is rather that he opposed the Bishops' Exclusion Bill not on religious but on political grounds. His own and the king's history since 1641 had led him to give a misleading account of his own actions. Hyde's actions are best explained, according to Mr. Wormald, by the supposition that all through this early period he was a parliamentarian, attempting to keep the balance which had been achieved in the first session of 1641. He was opposed to such royalist violence as the attempted arrest of the Five Members but he was equally opposed to the Grand Remonstrance of Pym. While Pym became more revolutionary, Hyde remained steadfast in the belief that a *modus vivendi* could be best arrived at by keeping to the arrangements of 1641. Hence Hyde never became a 'royalist' like the Queen nor a violent parliamentarian like Pym. His interest for the historian lies in the fact that he remained a moderate parliamentarian, representative in many ways of the majority of the members of the Long Parliament when it was not moved to extremism by Pym's oratory, by rumours of Papist plots and Irish massacres, or the king's own hasty measures. Hyde's actions are best explained on this hypothesis, The question Mr. Wormald is constantly asking is "What in the light of the evidence at our disposal did Hyde now do and what may most reasonably be supposed to have been his intentions?" His answer is that Hyde never became a royalist in the usual sense of the word. He never changed sides; he remained constant to his own aim which was to keep peace between king and parliament and he found himself on the king's side as much for the reason that the people in control on the side of Parliament would no longer listen to his advice as for any other reason. The pamphlets which he wrote on the king's behalf were not primarily aimed at building up a royal army for war but rather to strengthen the royal position when it came to bargaining.

It can be seen that this reversal of Gardiner's view of Hyde also means a reversal to some extent of the accepted version of the beginning of the Civil War. The clash of king and parliament was far from being inevitable in the first place; and the date when it did become inevitable must be put much later in 1642. In a sense, as Mr. Wormald shows, civil war was the least likely of the main possibilities. Even after it had begun the probability was on its ending fairly quickly. If Hyde had had his way the king would have approached the moderate-minded members of Parliament much more quickly and decisively than he did. Here again is a reversal of Gardiner's view. Mr. Wormald shows that Hyde's policy before and during this first phase of the Civil War was all of a piece. Where Gardiner assumed that Hyde, having become a rabid episcopalian, had no interest in fostering efforts to make peace, Mr. Wormald is able to prove that Hyde maintained his policy of

to arrive at some kind of settlement in which each side would yield something other. Hyde was thus very different from the violent royalists who came to e that one battle would give them decisive victory and whose whole aim, it was to crush Parliament, subordinated politics to war. He looked forward, s part, to a negotiated peace and hence he interested himself in negotiations like tempted treaty of Oxford and in attempts to keep in touch with the moderate n which he knew still existed behind Pym's warlike facade. One thing which out clearly from Mr. Wormald's analysis is that civil war sprang out of the of both sides, though Charles I's vacillating between the advice of the Queen Hyde made war much more likely. Had he stuck to one or the other, the result have been either complete capitulation or a reasonable accommodation. riticism can be made of the first part, it is that the author does not make clear he Civil War did in fact begin, but this is a minor criticism in view of the etely fresh light which the author sheds upon a period about which most e thought the last real word had been said.

he second section of the book in which Mr. Wormald discusses Hyde the ian grows naturally out of the first. He has shown how Hyde's account of vents from 1641 is misleading; it misled Gardiner precisely because Hyde he Civil War saw the pre-1641 developments in terms of friend and foe. We conclude therefore that Hyde's reputation as a historian no longer stands as as it did. But here again Mr. Wormald adds something to our understanding yde. He argues that Hyde displayed remarkable historical judgment not so in the *History* itself as in his analysis of contemporary events. As Mr. Wor- writes "It is true that Hyde was a Royalist only when he was writing the y. But he is a better historian outside his own *History* than in it, and outside is no more Royalist than before." His historical reflections are revealed most not in the History but in his *Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms vid,* and in his letters. He took the view that the phase through which the sh people were passing was a time of disease, which, if interfered with directly, prove disastrous in the long run. Foreign invasion would be no cure: it leave the monarchy without any foundation for the future. Nor would com- se be of any use. "I would not buy a peace at a dearer price," Hyde wrote holas in June, 1646, "than was offered at Uxbridge; and I am persuaded . . . r it shall be purchased at a more dishonourable or impious price it will be unpleasant and fatal to those who shall have their hands in making the bargain he war hath been." Where principle was involved it would be shortsighted npromise. The English were undergoing a period of political education and ually they would return of themselves to their own tradition as exemplified settlement of 1641. The chaos of Presbyterianism and the tyranny of the would vanish of their own accord.

nd, of course, Hyde's views, based both on historical analysis and belief in lence, were justified in the long run. The Restoration took place as he had en. What is more, the settlement of 1660 was that which he had envisaged .1. Gardiner's view that Hyde is a figure of little importance is far from the it was Hyde's not Pym's view of the constitution which was the basis of estoration in 1660.

ne third and final part of Mr. Wormald's book is devoted to Hyde's religious Here again it follows naturally out of the first part. If Hyde did not become list to defend the Church, if he was not an episcopalian, then what was he? Vormald shows him to have been a man influenced greatly by the circle at where Falkland played Erasmus to Laud's Calvin! But Hyde was not nentally as idealistic as the rest. He defended the bishops, but for political

not religious reasons. He was indeed a pragmatist in religion. What was clearly stated in the Bible was essential : the rest, ecclesiastical organization and suchlike, was a matter of convention but since episcopacy was part of the constitution in England, then it should be retained. Church and State in England were, in his view, inextricably interwined : like Hooker and Hobbes, he condemned those who forced men see double by making an absolute split between the two. True religion was unalterable : religion of state was alterable but it were better in the interests of the peace of England that it should be left alone.

It cannot be pretended that the book is easy reading ; this springs partly from the author's style, which shows the influence of the *History* itself, but much more from the difficult nature of his subject, which presupposes to some extent, familiarity with two great works of historiography, as well as the complex events of 1640–60. But as a book how much more enlightening and rewarding than the teatime reading of Miss Wedgewood or even Archbishop Mathew ! They may show us the romantic side of Prince Rupert or Henrietta Maria, but Mr. Wormald shows us that it was precisely the irresponsibility of the ' romantics ' which kept the civil war going. All ended well in 1660 but 1649 might well have seen the end of monarchy in England, thanks in large measure to the ' romantic ' Royalists of legend.

Mr. Wormald has given us an outstanding example of what a historian should be ; he has rethought *à la Collingwood* (though perhaps he would not admit this) what was in Hyde's mind during these years. Unlike many historians of today, he has tackled a large theme and has not been afraid to ignore notices which say " Please keep off the grass. This period has been *done* "—by Gardiner, by Narmer, by whoever you will. And furthermore he has been successful. If one may without impertinence use an analogy, he reminds us of a Father Brown stepping in to solve the case correctly when the great Scotland Yard detective has marked it ' solved ' by ignoring vital evidence. More historians, not merely of the seventeenth century, nor only of English history, might follow Mr. Wormald's example.

HUGH KEARNEY

THE HOLY SEE AND THE IRISH MOVEMENT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE UNION WITH ENGLAND 1829—1847. By John F. Broderick, S.J. Rome : Gregorian University. 1951. pP. xxvii+237. 16s.

FEW periods in Irish history have been so neglected by the trained historian as the nineteenth century. Much, it is true, has been written concerning the great movements of the century, but only too often these works were intended to serve immediate political ends and are sadly defective as constructive studies of the period. We require sober, careful research in limited fields to provide the essential materials for an adequate reassessment of the history of the nineteenth century. Father Broderick's work must be welcomed as a practical contribution towards such a systematic study.

Father Broderick concentrates his attention on what proved a rather elusive and hidden aspect of the political struggle in Ireland, but he shows beyond doubt that the question of the attitude of Rome to political nationalism might easily have become a most critical one during the tense years of the Repeal campaign. As it was, however, Rome acted with moderation and the Irish bishops avoided bringing the issue of clerical intervention in political affairs too forcibly into the realm of public controversy.

The failure of the Emancipation Act to bring with it any effective reforms helped to weaken the resolve of the Catholic clergy to maintain the policy of political neutrality which had been adopted by the Hierarchy in 1830. Many of the Irish clergy came to see in a return to agitation, under O'Connell's leadership, the most

t means of forcing the grievances of the country on the attention of Parliament. e, on the other hand, especially in the pontificate of Gregory XVI, saw in any al association with what was regarded as a purely political agitation, a source use and a threat to the comparatively friendly, even though unofficial, relations een the United Kingdom and the Holy See. Faced by the rising tide of lism, the Roman diplomatists not unnaturally looked to the established civil rities for support, and they, in turn, expected some display of gratitude on the of Rome.

The British Government, in the early nineteenth century, found itself in the ult position of having no effective voice in the affairs of the best organized and influential force in Ireland, the Catholic Church. The veto controversy had d on a discouraging note and though, as Fr. Broderick suggests, British pressure have influenced Rome's choice of bishops, yet that influence was of a most tain character. The Papacy was jealous of its authority and the appointment r. MacHale to Tuam, in the face of British opposition, revealed only too clearly imits of British influence. It is true that, in 1839, Cardinal Fransoni, the ct of Propaganda, admonished MacHale on the question of political con- rsies, but the admonition had no significant consequences. Even Fransoni's of March 1839 to the Primate, Dr. Crolly, requesting him to enquire into ctivities of the Archbishop of Tuam and to deter the clergy from engaging in ical disputes, hardly cause a ripple on the surface of Irish political life. The ments published by Fr. Broderick make it quite clear, that while Rome was ared to admonish the Irish clergy when pressed by Vienna and London, the s used were mild and vague and hardly of a kind likely to provoke a religious .

Apart from the documents relating to the appointment of Archbishop MacHale, nost instructive section in Fr. Broderick's book is that tracing the negotiations h led to the dispatch of the papal letter of 1844. Metternich's anxiety to check pread of subversive movements and the Pope's concern over the presence of n revolutionaries in Malta gave the British Government an obvious opportunity, 343, to reopen the question of the Church and politics in Ireland. London, ver, could hardly have been satisfied with the results of the rather indecisive tiations. Though the Prefect of Propaganda ultimately wrote to Archbishop y, in October, 1844, in much the same terms as those of the 1839 letter, this admonition had no noticeable influence on the political conduct of the clergy. n made public the letter provoked, at meetings of the Repeal Association, dramatic protests against the temporal claims of the papacy, but the text of etter was too mild and ambiguous ever to sustain a controversy likely to damage nnell or the Repeal movement. The whole incident seemed to show that the Holy See was still prepared to make certain concessions to meet the demands e opponents of liberal revolution, it was nevertheless unwilling to abandon its tional caution or risk the possibility, however remote, of schism in Ireland.

Fr. Broderick confines his study of Papal relations with Ireland to O'Connell's me, or rather, despite the title of the work, to the period 1829–45. This is y to be regretted. While Daniel O'Connell's death, in May, 1847, helped to he fate of the Repeal Association, it is somewhat artificial to confine a study is kind within rigid limits and ignore completely the negotiations carried on by Minto in Italy in 1847–8. These negotiations, an aspect of the rather ambitious gn policy of Palmerston, bore fruit in yet another letter from the Congregation opaganda to the Archbishop of Armagh. It came at a period of some political on in Ireland. The closing months of 1847 had seen, despite the Famine, a quickening of the pace of political activity and the Hierarchy had, in October, nted a firmly worded memorial to the Lord Lieutenant denouncing the evils

of the Irish social system, while disappointment was widespread at the failure of the Whigs to fulfill their promises. The material available for the study of this further intervention by Rome, at yet another critical point in the history of the Repeal movement, is slight and Fr. Broderick would have rendered an additional service to students of the period had he included the documents relating to what might well be regarded as the logical conclusion to his study.

On some minor points the text could, perhaps, be improved. It is, for example, surely impossible to overlook the question of co-operation with the Whigs in any analysis, however brief, of the causes which led to the breach between Old and Young Ireland in 1846 (p. 215). Again, it is hardly just to Sir Robert Peel to state that the Arms Bill, of 1843, was introduced to meet the challenge of the Monster Meetings. The measure had been contemplated before the Repeal agitation assumed a formidable aspect and was directed against agrarian crime rather than O'Connell's campaign (p. 131).

Though the background is sketched in rather lightly at times, Fr. Broderick's work remains, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the history of the nineteenth century. It may only confirm our impressions, but it gives them a basis in documentary evidence not otherwise available.

KEVIN B. NOWLAN

FRAMEWORK FOR PARTNERSHIP

FRESH DEAL FOR MANAGEMENT AND LABOUR. By Robert Wood Johnson. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. pp. 209. 6s.

"THE Labour Party today has no sense of direction". A large and rapidly increasing number of people in Great Britain would agree with that statement, which formed one of the opening sentences of a significant leading article, which appeared in *The Times* for 15 May 1951. A smaller number, whose ranks are steadily swelling, would agree with the concluding passage of that leading article. It is worth quoting in this context:—

> "Like their opponents, the Labour Party must seek an economic policy which will release the potential productive energy of the country. The State must be envisaged as stimulating enterprise for the social good, instead of confining and controlling it. The pursuit of equality must be redefined—not as a depressing, levelling process, but as the creation of a genuine equality of opportunity which will encourage and reward effort, instead of cramping it. There is no reason why such a policy should not be conceived in Socialist terms. It will require a clear-headed and unemotional approach to contemporary problems; and a start could best be made by abandoning the great fallacy of modern Socialist thought—that the State and the community are synonymous."

According to the above, State capitalism in Great Britain is playing itself out: "The National Board system is unsatisfactory because it generates no enthusiasm anywhere", wrote G. D. H. Cole in a recent *New Statesman* (12/5/51) article, which said of the British Labour Government:—

> "It was the victim of the tendency towards centralization and authoritarian control which it should have been its mission to fight: it could see the evils of Fascist or Communist authoritarianism, but not the bureaucratic mote in its own eye. 'Mote', not 'beam'; but disastrous enough for all that. So we have drifted into a position in which nobody feels any enthusiasm for further nationalization, and nobody knows what to do about the major part of industry that is left under capitalist ownership and control."

Such words, coming from the father of modern British Socialism, are of immense significance; this, despite the somewhat arrogant implication in the last sentence that, since Mr. Cole does not know what to do about the private sector of industry,

y knows what to do about it. As a matter of fact, an increasingly large number ple do know what to do, not only about the private sector of industry but industry in general. Amongst them is Robert Wood Johnson, who has set his ideas in a book published recently by the Catholic Social Guild.

s approach is extremely sound, perhaps because it is that of the successful, hinking business man as distinct from the theoretical economist whose approach ctical problems seems so often to lose sight of human nature. Mr. Johnson makes that mistake. His belief in private enterprise is tempered with a respect man dignity, and this combination makes him turn instinctively to view the n of the industrial problem in terms of a close co-operation between capital bour, which can come only as the result of a close understanding by each other's difficulties. Business most certainly must have for its fundamental ie provision of a reasonable standard of living for all. On those grounds *laissez faire* is ruled out : part of its legacy is always a percentage of the popula- hrust down below the poverty line. Moreover, its monopolistic trend leads huge concern, which, as a general rule, is never as efficient as that which is, ely speaking, small. To be efficient a factory should be " as long as a man's w ". The outsize firm is the inefficient firm as consumers under State capitalism, l as under monopoly capitalism, know to their cost. But the inefficiency of system (and here we have State capitalism primarily in mind) is not its main That must be sought, rather, on moral grounds—in its tendency to restrict iate opportunity and so restrict the adequate exercise of human powers and velopment of the human personality itself. The only sane way for industry middle way as the Popes pointed out long ago. It is the merit of Mr. Johnson's hat he not only recognizes this, but deals simply and clearly with the difficulties ust be cleared away as a prelude to its inception. For the middle way cannot posed from above : to succeed it must come up from below. Before industrial ration can succeed, an atmosphere must be created in an industry or firm that urable to its inception and development. That necessitates the realization ital and labour of their responsibilities : as a prelude to that, prejudice and derstandings must be removed from both sides—mainly by frank discussion oughtful action that is tactfully achieved.

me of Mr. Johnson's best pages are those which deal with industrial pre- and their removal. He has frank things to say to capital and labour, and he ot pull his punches when he says them. The best on both " sides " will listen t he has to say, for he is fairness itself to both. His book is extremely ob- :—

' Irresponsible unions are matched by employers who sign contracts un- ngly. Such men live up to their agreements—they have to—but they take to do more. Many make their reluctance obvious ; others constantly snipe ie unions in matters not covered by the contract. They show plainly that neither trust their workers nor respect them, and collaborate with labour because the law says they must.

Such conduct by grown men is absurd ; it means that they neither realize responsibility nor understand how to safeguard their own future. If labour employers are to retain the right to control their own destinies and accomplish common objectives without governmental interference, both must respect abour contract and give it increasing honour." (p. 165).

h speaking is straight : it is absolutely fair. Britain certainly could do with iore of it. So, perhaps, could the Republic. Irishmen, especially, will find Mr. n's chapter on " The Factory and Its Locality " extremely interesting because elevance to their country's present industrial prospect. Employers and trade ts in both countries will be all the better for a thorough study of the excellent

chapters dealing with " Causes of Conflict ", " Dignity and the Job ", " The New Craftsmanship ", " The Changing Technician ", and the causes of industrial friction under the sensible title of " From Opposite Poles ".

It is difficult to recommend this excellent book too highly. Written with clarity, frankness and extreme simplicity, it should prove of the greatest possible service, not only to capital and labour, but to students of the social problem, who wish to study a sound application of principle to the everyday problems of industrial life.

PAUL CRANE

LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION TO PAUL CLAUDEL. By Mary Ryan, M.A. Cork: Cork University Press. 7s. 6d.

THE French Department of University College, Cork, has already introduced one aspect of Claudel to Irish readers in Dr. Kathleen O'Flaherty's study of *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. Professor Mary Ryan, *emeritus* Professor of Romance Languages has just published a study of Claudel's poetry which is a fitting crown for her many years of service to the cause of French literature.

There have been sharp differences of opinion among French critics on the subject of Claudel. Some of them will not allow that he is a poet at all, to others he is the outstanding figure of nineteenth and twentieth century French poetry. This is a large claim in a period which includes Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Verlaine, Valéry, and several other outstanding names, and in assessing its justice the judgment of critics has necessarily been influenced by their acceptance or rejection of Claudel's fundamental ideas on the function of the poet and the art of poetry.

Madaule in a study of one of Claudel's more recent works says: "*Il faut s'abandonner à Claudel comme autrefois il aimait s'abandonner lui-même au courant des fleuves chinois.*" It is difficult for a rationalist critic to take this advice and it is even more difficult for the average educated Frenchman. For Claudel's poetry requires more than Coleridge's " willing suspension of disbelief " ; it demands that the reader share with the poet his belief in the all-pervading presence of God. This particular difficulty would not arise in Ireland, and indeed it is the one country where a great Catholic poet should be sure of a sympathetic hearing. While a poem like *La Vierge à Midi* should present no particular difficulties to an Irish reader, French studies in Ireland have not reached the stage where the majority of Claudel's poems can be read and enjoyed without outside aid. An introduction to Claudel is needed, and Professor Ryan has provided it.

Professor Ryan commences with a brief biographical sketch of Claudel and deals with the two great influences on Claudel's life, first his reading of Rimbaud's *Illuminations* and *Une Saison en Enfer* and secondly his conversion which in a sense was a result of the first. The deep permanent impression which these writings of Rimbaud's made upon Claudel is rather curious. The *Saison en enfer* was certainly not intended to bring anyone back to the practice of religion. Yet Claudel refers to Rimbaud constantly as his *Père Spirituel* and fearlessly acknowledged his debt, somewhat to the embarrassment of less hardy spirits. Professor Ryan translates the moving passage from *Ma Conversion* dealing with his sudden conviction of the presence of God when he was assisting as a spectator at High Mass in Notre-Dame and deals with the profound influence this event had upon his life and his poetry. Once Claudel had turned to God his intention and aim was to " re-create a Catholic imagination and sensibility." This influence can of course be seen too in his dramatic works, and a play like *Partage de Midi* shows the extraordinary power and originality of treatment that Claudel could apply to a situation that in other hands might be banal or worse.

rofessor Ryan devotes a chapter to Claudel's *Art Poétique*. Claudel told eric Lefèvre that hardly anybody had understood this work. It was completed 900 but as Professor Ryan notes rather grimly, Claudel writing in the 1930's that the sense of it would only be completed by writings which he was then ged upon. This is by far the most important chapter of the whole book, and t by any means easy reading. The present reviewer has read it several times has been struck more at each reading by the combination of learning and y of thought which has made Professor Ryan not only capable of understanding philosophical and aesthetic principles of Claudel but of expressing them so nctly and economically. Professor Ryan has made a very difficult subject as le as it can be made, and has tried with the aid of appropriate sub-headings to the student along the lines of her argument. The *Art Poétique* is primarily nsideration of the function of man and the matter and function of poetry. rding to Claudel, every man has his function assigned to him by God's purpose. differs from man according to the nature and degree of observation, assimilation use of the universe external to him to which he is destined, according to the and moment of creation of which he is called to be for ever in the sight of God fferer and the witness. It is the poet's duty to interpret the universe ; to trate into the endless variety and glory of created things ; and to bring out of all that they contain of praise and life and beauty. Professor Ryan deals with these fundamental ideas, and with Claudel's conception of time, his use etaphor and his prosody. The part of the chapter dealing with prosody is aps open to some criticism. Claudel's prosody is a subject of considerable est, and while the treatment in this chapter is adequate it has one great dis- ntage in that the writer does not give a single example in French to illustrate f the points that she makes. It is, as the writer points out " an entirely personal c technique, but this untrammelled form suits the massive untrammelled ty in his mind and production." At least one typical example of his verse t have been included as an illustration of this remark.

Professor Ryan devotes a chapter each to the Odes, the pre-war poems, *Corona gnatis Anni Dei*, and the various other works up to 1945. The *Cinq Grandes* have been treated in some detail but although they have been described as *es plus grands sommets du lyrisme francais*' by one critic, Professor Ryan would rently give pride of place to some of the later poems in *Feuilles de Saints*. ainly there must be few modern French poems comparable in power and *gure* with the *Magnificat* and its mixture of contemporary events and haunting cal apostrophes, its fierce attack on the Rationalists, Michelet, Hugo, etc. and ote of humble resignation to God's will.

Claudel's dramatic works are only mentioned incidentally in the course of this , presumably to avoid ground already covered by Dr. Kathleen O'Flaherty. to be regretted that *Partage de Midi* and *Le soulier de Satin* have not been cted to the same clear and sympathetic analysis as the *Cinq Grandes Odes*, perhaps that is yet to come.

One point about this book is difficult to understand. The person for whom written must be assumed to have a reasonably good knowledge of French and vonders why Professor Ryan went to the trouble of translating virtually every ation from Claudel into English.

Professor Ryan undertook to write an introduction to Claudel, and she has ed out this task with devotion and scholarship. She has rightly concentrated ly on Claudel's ideas. They are fundamental to an understanding of his ry, and are the eloquent expression of a great Catholic's sense of God. This will reveal to the student the hidden beauties of Claudel's poetry and will to explain his occasional obscurities. It is to be hoped too that it will encourage

the study of Claudel in our Universities which is no more than his due. The production and printing are very good, and the Cork University Press deserves to be congratulated upon this addition to its list of French publications.

ANDREW F. COMYN

PHILOSOPHY

PRIVATE PROPERTY. The History of an Idea. By Richard Schlatter, Professor of History, Rutgers University. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1951. 18s.

THE institution of private ownership and its theoretical justification are amongst the foremost topics in debate in modern times. Is private ownership a natural right or an invention of human positive law? And, if the latter, is it a useful invention and to be defended and retained, or, on the contrary, has it outlived its usefulness and become an obstacle to social progress? These are some of the questions which the modern advance of Socialism brings to the forefront. The work under review, while not taking sides in the debate, is a most useful contribution to it. It is a history of the doctrine of private property from Greek antiquity to the present day and was composed while the author was lecturer in history to young soldiers and sailors in Harvard College during the last years of the war. It is not a mere popularization, though written in clear and readable language. Rather is it a work of erudition, which demanded immense reading and contains on every page evidence of accurate scholarship. The author deserves the congratulations and gratitude of his readers for his mastery of a wide field of research and for his attractive presentation of his findings. Professor Schlatter meant his book to be something more than just an historical treatise on ownership. He aimed at giving an introduction to that continuous stream of thought and tradition which has formed the basis of Western civilization since Greco-Roman times. And, in my opinion, he has achieved a fair measure of success. As we follow the history of property-theories, we are introduced in an interesting way to many of Europe's most celebrated books on philosophy, law, politics, economics and even religion. To take at random one chapter by way of example: Chapter Four: The Sixteenth Century, gives a detailed account of the theory of ownership (and some inkling of the general doctrinal position) of such men as Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, John Ponet, the Jesuit writers of the Counter-Reformation, James I, and Jean Bodin.

As one closes this book there is one practical lesson which comes home forcibly, namely, the need to scrutinize closely the terms and arguments of any proof that property is a natural right. The history of property shows that men are very prone to regard as natural, inevitable and necessary those institutions which happen to suit their own social and economic conditions. The natural right of ownership must not be narrowly conceived in terms merely of the particular economic conditions of a given country and time. "How varied are the forms which property has assumed", exclaims Pius XI. Yet there *is* a natural right of ownership and the failure of so many eminent thinkers down the ages to adduce unshakeable arguments for it must not lead us into the error of supposing that it cannot be proved. (Professor Schlatter seems to lean towards the theory of rights of the Historical School and hence to discount any theory of a natural right.) It is remarkable how the concept of a natural right of property, like the concept of the Natural Law itself, has haunted the juridical consciousness of mankind since Stoic times. Though flaws have been revealed in the arguments of many of its proponents, the thesis itself has remained. Its fundamental truth has been perceived and proclaimed by thinkers who have not always succeeded in giving it accurate formulation or convincing proof.

n his treatment of the early and medieval periods of the Church's history, essor Schlatter's account of Catholic doctrine on property is copious and, I , accurate. On the teaching of the modern Popes he is less satisfactory. When XIII defended the natural right of property, he was not a champion of the alism of 1891 ; nor does Pius XI suppress (as the author insinuates) Leo's ments, but rather he endorses them and adds a new argument of his own. The or rightly marks the contrast between the doctrine of S. Augustine that ownership creation of human law and that of S. Thomas that it is a natural right. He touches on a problem which still awaits solution by Catholic theorists of property, ely, the apparent contradiction between the early and medieval Catholic attitude teaching, which till quite the eighteenth century leaned towards common ership as the ideal of the natural law, and the modern Catholic attitude with its nasis on private ownership. There is room for a Catholic supplement to Professor atter's excellent history which, while giving more copious treatment to modern olic teaching and writing on Property, would resolve the problem just alluded to.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

LOSOPHICAL STUDIES. Volume I. June, 1951. Annual Journal of The Philosophical Society, Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth. pp. 78. 3s. 6d.

very creditable publication will be welcomed by many. In this country there growing interest in philosophy. Certain ultimate questions force themselves nose who read or reflect much, and philosophy is the answer of Reason to such tions. Three departments in particular give rise to such questions in this try : science (especially physics), education (especially its aim), and sociology. sequently the best approach to philosophy here may be through physics, gogy and sociology. At any rate the questions are being asked, and here comes beginning of a courageous attempt to answer them. The seven articles in this volume are papers read during the year before the Philosophical Society in nooth. They are discussions of incidental points which the student of philosophy re to meet. The titles of the papers are : Thomism and Modern European sophy, Thought and its Expression, A note on the Personalism of Jacques tain, The Proof for the Existence of God, Kinds of Knowledge, Is there a stian Philosophy ?, The Structure of the Universe in Modern Astronomy. acteristic of these papers is the attempt to face the difficulties which are really eople's minds at present. *Philosophical Studies* is a worthy companion to *tus Rex*. The Sunday sermon and the school catechism are not enough ; eople look to reading matter, especially periodicals, to retail to them what the t learns in the seminary. The Church has good reason for ordering philosophy taught in seminaries ; the same reason is behind the publication by Maynooth ilosophical Studies. May this new journal prosper, and may it help on the work which Maynooth is doing at home and abroad.

JOHN HYDE, S.J.

VARIA

CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA. Supplement II, the First Section. dited by Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J. New York : The Gilmary Society, 30 V. 16th St., N.Y., 11. 1951. $8.50.

he *Catholic Encyclopaedia* was completed in 1913, before the first world war, teen volumes, including the Index volume. In 1922 a first Supplement (782) was issued. Since then there have been at least two attempts to bring out,

first a work *Universal Knowledge* designed to replace the Encyclopaedia and then a new edition of the latter. Both these attempts failed, no doubt for lack of support. Meantime the contents of the Encyclopaedia came to be considerably out of date and the work itself is at present very scarce. It has now been planned to reprint the work as it stands and at the same time to publish supplementary volumes dealing with the period that has elapsed since 1922.

According to competent testimony borne both by non-Catholic and by Catholic authorities the original Encyclopaedia is a masterly piece of work. Its information was ample and reliable, its presentation excellent. But since 1913 and even since 1922 many things have happened. Indeed it would not be too much to say that the world has profoundly changed. There is no need to elaborate a proposition that is evident to anybody who has lived long enough to be aware of the manifold changes that have come about in every sphere of life and thought.

Hence the need of a supplement to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. The first section of this supplement, now under review, includes the following articles :—Bolshevism, Canada, Capitalism, Ceylon, Communism, Cuba, England, Fatima, France, India, Ireland, Labour Legislation, Lithuania, Mexico, Mormons, Nazism, Soviet, and articles on five Papal encyclicals, as well as several shorter articles.

Let it be said at once that, as far as the reviewer is in a position to judge, these articles maintain the high level of those in the original work. They are informative, precise, balanced, and up to date as befits a work of reference. But they are far from being dry compilations. They are readable and this reader at all events found them full of interest. Outstanding in fullness of information and wealth of detail are the articles on England, Canada, and France. These, in common with other articles about countries, deal not only with their religious life, but also with political, economic, social, and cultural life. In some cases the treatment of these various aspects has been assigned to different writers. Thus Lord Iddesleigh writes on British history, 1910–1950, Mr. Christopher Hollis on Catholicity (sic) in England, Mr. James J. Dwyer on the Catholic Revival in English Literature, Father Philip Hughes on the Present State of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. The greater part of the article France is signed E. Jarry, but French Literature of the Twentieth Century has been assigned to the Abbé J. Calvet, probably the greatest Catholic authority on the subject. In the article Ireland, general information is supplied by Patrick Linnane. Father John Ryan, S.J., writes on Irish history since 1910, an article so carefully balanced that it is sure to displease extremists in both parties to the split that came about in 1921. Modern literature in Irish is dealt with by Séamus Ó hAodha, modern literature in English by the late Aodh de Blácam. As far as possible the articles on the various countries have been assigned to nationals of those countries.

The reviewer may, perhaps, be permitted to point to what seem to him a few shortcomings, minor ones all of them. It seems regrettable that the Abbé Calvet, in his anxiety to assess the full literary value of the authors and works mentioned by him, should not have indicated more clearly their value from a religious and moral standpoint. The excellent article on India is, shall we say, somewhat lyrical but rather sparing of facts—" It will be useless," writes the author, " to attempt a census of facts and figures. They are in the melting pot." The article Ireland would seem to need a supplement dealing with the Irish abroad whether in the Foreign Missions or not. Lastly there are rather more misprints than one would expect in a work so carefully produced.

The typography is excellent—clear and readable. The work is being produced on loose sheets for which a handsome and solid binder is provided at a low cost. The next section of this Supplement is announced as nearly ready.

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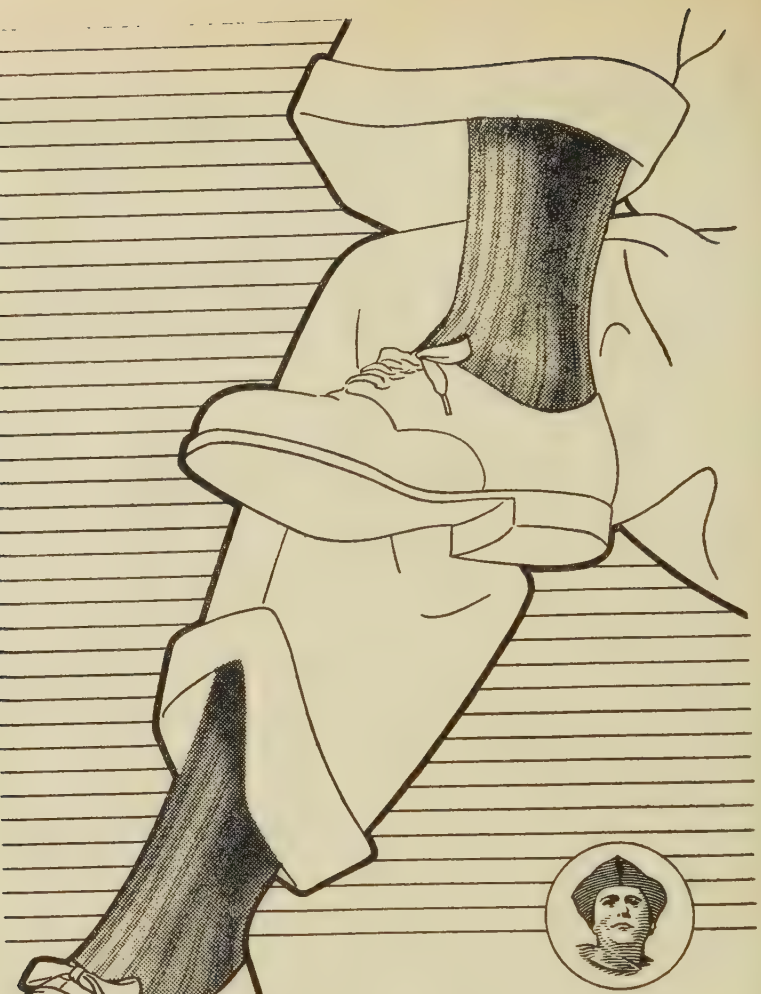

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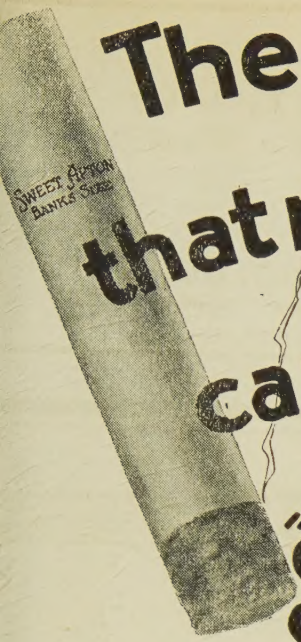

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